

吉田松陰



YOSHIDA SHŌIN (1830-1859)
AND THE SHŌKA SONJUKU

BY

MAIDA STELMAR COALDRAKE
M.A. (Tas.)

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PREFACE

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MAIDA S. COALDRAKE

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

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NOTES ON PRESENTATION

In the text the Japanese convention of family before given name has been followed. Where as in Tokugawa practice several names are used by one person, an effort has been made to identify and use the one appearing most consistently.

The macron in Japanese usage is dropped in familiar words as names of major cities, e.g., Tokyo, Kyoto and common words used interchangeably in English and Japanese, e.g., Shogun, daimyo.

Kanji is interspersed through the text only where a word of peculiar or interesting meaning is concerned, unless the section involves textual exegesis. A glossary is appended.

Japanese words are italicized and translated as necessary on their first appearance, thereafter in ordinary case.

Major Japanese sources used in the compilation of chronological tables are included in the Bibliography as well as listed preceding relevant text. Abbreviations have been kept to a minimum.

YSZ	Yoshida Shōin Zenshū
HSR	Hagi Shiryōkan
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
JQ	The Japan Quarterly
MN	Monumenta Nipponica
TSAJ	Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan

Footnotes are placed at the end of each page in numbered sequence in each chapter, except in Chapter Two in which, for convenience, each section has its own full run.

YOSHIDA SHŌIN (1830-1859)

AND THE SHŌKA SONJUKU

The life and writings of Yoshida Shōin, samurai of Chōshū in western Japan, scholar, patriot and teacher, reflect the many diverse and turbulent aspects of the late Tokugawa period. In his personal relationships and activities Shōin anticipated the desperate nature of the crisis facing Japan in the mid-nineteenth century with the arrival of foreigners on Japanese soil seeking trade and diplomatic privilege. He was executed for crimes against the state during the Ansei Purge in 1859, ten years before the same ideas and a number of the men who were his students propelled Japan into the modern world.

Shōin has been the object of fascination to both Japanese and Western historians since the publication of The Life of Yoshida Shōin (1893) by Tokutomi Iichirō and Robert Louis Stevenson's "Yoshida Torajirō" in Familiar Studies of Men and Books (1903). Interpretation of his life and work has been prey to a hundred years of changing historiographical fashion. Shōin has been cast in the role of arch-conservative, ultranationalist, messianic prophet of the Meiji Restoration, tragic failed hero, disaffected intellectual and "grass-roots" radical insurrectionist. Within the encrustation of legend and interpretation the real Yoshida Shōin has been overlaid.

This study re-examines Shōin's life and thought with particular emphasis on the Shōka Sonjuku. The students of this small community school at which he was principal instructor while under domiciliary confinement, included such later "Men of Meiji" as Itō Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo and Kido Kōin.

Ideas gathered during fieldwork helped to clarify Shōin's ideas and appear in the text where appropriate in the form of maps, charts and photographic plates. Locations where he was active, including Hagi itself are pinpointed. His journeys are traced from Hirado and Nagasaki in Kyushu, through Kyoto and Nakasendō to Izu-Shimoda, Mito and Aizu-Wakamatsu, as far north as the Tsugaru Straits. The chronological listing of his major writings which is included, traces the evolution of his concepts of state and philosophy of education.

This thesis sheds new light on Shōin's life, thought and activities, especially his relationship to the physical environment of Hagi, the domain castletown, to the Neo-Confucian and Yamaga philosophical traditions in which he was fostered and the intellectual movements to which he was exposed, notably, Mitogaku. Special attention is given to Shōka Sonjukuki, an essay written by Shōin in 1856 in which he discusses the history and educational principles of the school which were transmitted to his *deshi* (disciples). The analysis of this vital text has not been carried out previously and challenges the existing inadequate but historiographically explicable interpretations of Shōin as a radical and extremist.

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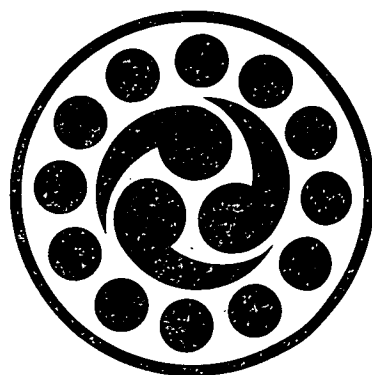
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- All photographs were taken by the author or under her direct supervision unless otherwise noted.

Introduction



INTRODUCTION

Yoshida Shōin (Torajirō) born in
Hagi, at the early age of thirty
years was executed at Edo. Verily
this short life changed Japanese
history...¹

²

Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), samurai of Chōshū was born at Matsumoto on the outskirts of the castletown of Hagi. Like many famous men he was born on the periphery of his future domain³ and in an environment which furnished him with a strong regional identity. He was born into the inescapability of the Tokugawa family system as Sugi Toranosuke, being adopted at an early age by an uncle Yoshida Daisuke, the hereditary head of a school of traditional military studies. The daimyo han⁴ *jōkamachi*⁵ of Hagi, on the Sea of Japan coast where people of the four social strata, diverse interests and tastes were confined spatially and temporarily, was a physical environment of immense power and importance to Shōin in his formative years. In Shōin's experience until the age of eighteen, Japan as a nation bound by the laws of Seclusion (1636-1853), if identified at all, was a very restricted country, scarcely touching Ezo (Hokkaido) in the north or the Ryukyu archipelago in the south. Only the islands in the Straits of Tsushima

1. Introductory recorded narration in an excited propagandist style. Yoshida Shōin Historical Museum, Hagi, January 1980.
Life expectancy, mid-19th century, was 38.6 years. Japan Times, February 10, 1980.
2. Hereafter Shōin, his preferred nomenclature.
3. "Domain" is here used to indicate the field or scope of physical, mental and spiritual activity rather than political dimension.
4. *han* - see Glossary.
5. *jōkamachi*, castletown, of a feudal lord's domain, the han, and its administrative centre. The House of Mōri were great outer lords by hereditary and political circumstances.

dividing his own domain from the mainland of Asia, had any reality, because the culture and civilization of the world of Confucian thought and discipline in which his mind was nurtured, was grounded in the intellectual experience of the Central Kingdom, China. He was born also at a time when Chōshū's standing nationally was of little account. A conscious but not always willing participant in the forces of change, he accepted the status quo of the Tokugawa polity as the model, and though never fully divorcing himself from ties of loyalty and obligation to his *hanshu*, his philosophy was to develop away from narrow han affiliations to encompass the fully expressed loyalties of the sonnō-jōi adherents to Emperor and nation.

As a boy Shōin studied first under his uncles of whom he had two, both scholars of some standing; subsequently he attended the Meirinkan, the official han academy for sons of samurai which was one of the oldest and most prestigious in Japan. He graduated with honours, a teaching appointment, and high prestige as a scholar of great potential in his hereditary field of the military sciences.⁶ At the direction of the han authorities he later made a number of educational journeys, covering more than eleven thousand kilometres mainly on foot, which opened his eyes to the riches of his physical and spiritual heritage and the immensity and complexity of the Japan of late Tokugawa times.⁷ The crisis situation created by the eastern advance of Western colonial powers into Asia demanding commercial and diplomatic privileges, was paralleled by a crisis situation in his own spiritual development, which is documented in his many extant letters and memorials. He was forced to see his country, the Land of the Gods (*Shinshū*), his Emperor, co-eval with Heaven and earth, and the carefully balanced

6. *Hanshu*: lord of the domain (han).

7. Primarily *Yamaga ryū* based on Mencian theory and Sun Tsu's Art of War.

system of national administration under the shogun, forced to deflect from its preferred way of life by circumstances outside either its cognizance or control.

Shōin visited Edo⁸ as a member of the official entourage of his domanial lord Mōri on *sankin-kōtai* duties⁹ at the Tokugawa shogunal capital, Edo, in order to undertake further studies under specialists from the many schools of thought¹⁰ then prevailing in Japan, and to improve his military skills. The contact thus afforded with some of the greatest contemporary scholars such as Sakuma Shōzan, expert on Dutch studies, Aizawa Seishisai and other exponents of the Imperial and historical philosophy of Mitogaku, turned his brilliant mind towards issues of national concern. In other words, Shōin's first encounter with the circumstances and men at a national policy level, coincided with the moment when the Tokugawa state was moving towards the replacement of the highly abstract Neo-Confucian cosmological system which under-girded it, with an empirical and rational world-view based on contemporary realities, endeavouring in the process to balance the superimposed circumstances with decisions derived from its own internal dynamic. At a moment in Japan's history when national unity was the supreme requirement, this low ranking samurai of a tōzama domain, was to insinuate himself into the tension which existed between the three elements, namely the Imperial Court, the intruding foreigner and the hereditary administrative function of a Bakufu already stretched beyond the limitations of its historical possibility.

The paradox of the short life of Yoshida Shōin, scholar, teacher,

8. Edo, jōkamachi of the House of Tokugawa, population 1.3 million, arguably the largest city in the world in mid-18th century,

cf. London 900,000

Paris 600,000

9. Glossary.

10. Table 4.

prophet and patriot, is that during the six years of high drama, 1853-1858,¹¹ from the arrival of Matthew Calbraith Perry to the signing of the Harris Treaties in 1858, Shōin was either in prison or under house arrest for infringement of the strict but ephemeral codes of the Tokugawa legal system. Not yet fully mature in his thinking or judgment, he undertook a number of ventures of increasing irresponsibility, dictated by ideas of loyalty and duty which would finally run him headlong onto the sword of the Bakufu. The escalating national crisis exacerbated by the intra-han Seclusion debate, treaty concessions and extraterritorial rights for foreigners, was paralleled by his own philosophical and spiritual crises and recorded in position papers and letters to any of his contacts who would listen. His close friendships with a number of samurai scholars from every status and age group and across han boundaries, are well documented in some of his eight hundred extant letters. The twentieth century observer seems to see in him the charismatic and prophetic qualities of the Weberian "leadership in crisis" model. Shōin possessed, by virtue of his exceptional gifts, those qualities of the heroic figure with which his followers or disciples could identify because they also embodied their own ideals.

At Matsumoto during the last three years of his life Shōin spent his time teaching, lecturing, writing, in an urgent attempt to intervene in the crisis surrounding the signing of the Harris Treaties of 1858 by a Bakufu unable to await the sanction of an irresolute Emperor. The nature of the times forced an extravagant response from all those samurai who were excluded from high office and from the decision-making process, by reason of status, and an equally extravagant defensive response from a Bakufu wary of criticism and jealous of its autonomy. When the newly appointed Tairō Ii Naosuke, Hikone-no-kami, initiated punitive

11. See Table 1, Chronology for years 1853-1858.

measures against radical loyalist and imperial courtiers (*kuge*) alike, the so-called Ansei Purge (1858-1859) was used to limit Shōin's access to news and loyalist activities. In May 1859 he was brought to Edo for interrogation before a special Bakufu tribunal. After three hearings, a number of charges were laid against him and he was executed by decapitation for unpatriotic activities and crimes against the State on 21st November 1859, by order of the Tairō himself.

In death, for many Japanese of the following generations, he has received the accolade refused him in life. He has now attained the status of *Shizukana Kami ni nari*.¹²

As a samurai, Shōin believed himself to be activated and sustained by traditional loyalty, *Yamato Damashii*, the spirit of Yamato,¹³ the essence of Japan's uniqueness which is deeply embedded in the national consciousness. It found expression at a time of increasing confrontation with the West in a strong loyalty to the Imperial institution:

Kakemakumo	That the country
Kimi ga kuni koso	Of our August ruler
Yasukereba	May remain in peace,
Mi wo su tsuru koso	Gladly would I give
Shizu ga hoi nare ¹⁴	my life away.

When this aspiration was realized and the time of execution set,

Shōin wrote:

Today I am to die. But when I think of the four seasons of the year, I am comforted - in spring we see the seed sown, in summer the young plants growing; autumn is the harvest time...I am only thirty years old¹⁵ and I die

12. Lit.: "Become a quiet spirit", sanctified, canonized.

13. *Yamato Damashii* was first defined in a poem in Manyōshu, A.D. 718-759.

14. Cited in van Straelen, H., Yoshida Shōin: Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, Leiden, 1952, p. 114.

15. Japanese age assessment. Shōin was in his thirtieth year, 29 years old in Western practice.

without having accomplished anything. I resemble a crop which sent forth ears but did not ripen...¹⁶

This is far from historical experience. In the lives and activities of some of the most famous leaders of the modern Japanese nation who had been his students at the Shōka Sonjuku, Shōin's teachings and inspiration reach full fruition.

In 1980 a musical composition for orchestra, chorus and actor-narrator entitled Suite: Yoshida Shōin¹⁷ had its world premiere in the city of Yamaguchi in south-western Japan. In the tradition of all great musical compositions glorifying some national hero, there is a formalised pattern of presentation: the hero's life, his country, his work and his mission, and, in gathering darkness and profundity, escape from this world and final consolation. Nothing in my lengthy research into the life of Yoshida Shōin, samurai, scholar and teacher, has suggested a more appropriate model for the ultimate dissertation than is provided by this musical work. The complexity of the man and his times and the prolix nature of his writings, however, compels a much more modest approach.

In 1957, *Shin Nihon no Hikari: Yoshida Shōin*,¹⁸ a book written in preparation for the centenary of Shōin's death two years later, went rapidly into three editions and sold over 30,000 copies. It purports to explain the 'essential spirit' of a man who is seen as a pioneer

16. Yoshida Shōin Zenshu (hereafter YSZ), Ryūkon Roku ("In Search of an Everlasting Spirit"), cited van Straelen, op.cit., p. 125.
17. Okada Shodai (1929-), Suite: Yoshida Shōin (for Orchestra, Chorus and Actor-Narrator); duration 90 min., composed 1980 and cited in Works by Japanese Composers 1980, compiled for Japan Federation of Composers by Suntory Music Foundation, Tokyo, 1981.
18. Tanaka Shunsuke, *Shin Nihon no Hikari: Yoshida Shōin*, Tokyo, 1957. It was republished in a revised form under the title, *Ishin no Sendatsu: Yoshida Shōin*, ten years later in 1967 in time for the Meiji Centenary celebrations.

of the Meiji Restoration and thus of Japan's modern nation. This is not a particularly remarkable claim. What makes it more so is that it bridges the gap between earlier more ponderous, interpretive studies of Shōin and the spate of folkloric and popular writings which were to follow. In its own way, Suite: Yoshida Shōin was the consummation of both these aspects of works on Shōin in Japan over the last hundred years. In addition, it confirmed his place among the great heroes of Japanese history.

As the local bus from Yamaguchi to Hagi swings down the mountain defile onto the coastal plain bordering the Nihonkai, the bus girl sings "We are now approaching Hagi of Nagato, ancient seat of the Mōri lords, cradle of the Meiji Restoration. Here Yoshida Shōin, martyred patriot, taught Itō Hakubun (Hirobumi), Yamagata Aritomo, Kido Kōin, Takasugi Shinsaku, Shinagawa Yajirō, Nomura...Kusaka..." and so on. As the bus rumbles through the narrow streets of the old castle town, lined with samurai *yashiki* and daub-walled gardens full of summer orange trees, it passes through streets largely unchanged since Shōin and his friends walked there in the mid-nineteenth century. Only the residential blocks, empty of samurai mansions but lavishly filled with *mikan* trees, and the hump of Shizukiyama now stripped of its great castle structures, remind the observer that this town of Hagi was in the main stream of national life and political controversy only four generations earlier. Pates 4 & 5).

My first encounter with Yoshida Shōin came about by chance in a cryptomeria grove at Izu-Shimoda, in the Meiji Centennial Year 1968 (Plate 38). There, seated at the foot of a life-sized statue of a samurai whose hands rested on the hilt of a great sword and whose eyes were fixed at a distant point beyond the small harbour, my family and I ate our picnic lunch, translating the explanation on the plinth and

wondering why a samurai from the distant domain of Chōshū should be memorialized so far from his home (Plate 37). It now seems a little ironical that a winter visit to the heartland of America's first encounter with Japan¹⁹ should confront us with this exemplar of Japan's traditional values in confrontation with the Western world pressing in (Plate 37).

In high summer ten years later, I walked down Shizukiyama in Hagi, Yamaguchi Prefecture (Plate 4) through the remaining stone foundations of the castle of the great tozama House of Mōri and the flats of the modern city centre, to the Yoshida Shōin Jinja in east Hagi.²⁰ (Plate 2).²⁰ Here the *Shōin Rekishi Butsukan* houses twelve dioramas - lavish historical expositions of the great moments in the life of Shōin (Plates 29 and 30). The presentation, with the accompanying recorded commentary and suitable sound effects, are strongly suggestive of the Stations of the Cross in the Christian tradition, and indicate something of the canonization process of Shōin which proceeds apace. Day by day in the tourist season, interested observers file through the museum, buy mementoes and take photographs. All figures are life sized, like Japanized versions of Madame Tussaud's Wax Works' figures. One station shows Shōin with his siblings at home with their parents; another the twelve year old Shōin delivering his first lecture on

19. Shimoda, conceded by the Treaty of Kanagawa 1854 as an "open" port and location for the residence of the first U.S. Consul to Japan, Townsend Harris. Plate 37. The figures in foreground are standing at the point from where Shōin and Kaneko rowed out to Perry's ships (1854).

20. The original plates reproduced in this thesis with the exception of certain older prints, are in colour, including the reproductions of maps 1652 and 1851-2.

A series of Plates, 4 through 22, give a clear pictorial representation as far as possible of the most well preserved extant buildings of Shōin's times. Plates 11, 12 and 13 give an excellent impression of the size and grandeur of the original castle edifice. By contrast, Plates 24, 25, 26 of Shōin's birthplace and later residence, are on an insignificant scale.

Yamaga Sokō's Bukyō Shōgaku ("Military Principles") before his Hanshu and *karō*²¹ (senior advisers), still another, the harbour at Shimoda with the two samurai friends, Shōin and Kaneko, rowing across to Perry's flagship to the realistic sound of waves, and so on to the farewell scenes beneath the "Pinetree of Tears" in the mountain pass above the city, and the execution ground in Edo with the sound of a solemn voice reading Shōin's last words. The message is duly received by the many visitors filing through the galleries and the process is complete. We are in the presence of a 'glorified personality'.

There is a world of difference between such a 'glorified personality' of Shintō perception, however, and a folk hero or a saint: the first reflects the values of the world of men and affairs, and the latter mirrors the transcendental values of the world of a self overcome. In contemporary perceptions of the life and death of Yoshida Shōin the lines of division between these two images become blurred. It is nowhere more apparent than at the two places in Japan most sacred to Shōin's memory, the Shintō Shrine at Hagi just described, and the Shōin Jinja at Setagaya in Tokyo, where his ashes are interred. This ambivalence was noticeable too, in conversations with the many people encountered during my journeys "in search of Shōin's Everlasting Spirit".²² Once persuaded of one's own sincerity, the man or woman in trains or at museums would cease to be evasive and self-conscious and talk freely of the "great spirit", the model, the leader, the ideal which Shōin set for Japan today. It seemed a far cry from the proto-communist insurrectionary, the ultra radical, the imperial expansionist, the revolutionary categorization of some twentieth century Western historian's perception: possibly closer to the "martyred prophet of

21. *Karō* (lit) senior house councillor to hanshu.

22. This refers to the Ryūkon Roku, Shoin's last statement.

expansionism" concept. The people of Hagi themselves are proud of their long historical association with one of the great names of Tokugawa Japan and unashamedly accept their financial dependency on the Shōin-generated tourist trade; nevertheless, they make the visitor aware of what "living history" means by reason of their own sense of the past.

It is in this context that the historian realizes afresh the problems in "rescuing a pre-modern Japanese personality from history",²³ both by virtue of the material itself and of its interpretation. Ooms in this quotation, is referring more particularly to the veil which Confucian and neo-Confucian scholarship draws over an historical personality, and the impossibility of distinguishing between the real person, the role-play dictated by convention, and the expectation of the Confucian scholar's place in Tokugawa society. This particular aspect of the problem has little reference to Shōin since his own prodigious literacy and philosophical energy found expression in a wide range of works of literary merit, poems, letters, private journals and travel diaries, political polemics and hard-headed defence projects, with little sign of any neo-Confucian constrictions. Although the focus of this thesis is the man in his times and the channels through which he interacted with them, it is neither, strictly speaking, a biographical exercise nor a critical analysis of written works, and so is less vulnerable to such considerations. Any historian must, of course, tread warily amongst the writings of his chosen subject, but the accumulated, and often diametrically opposed interpretations of Shōin written by scholars, priests and publicists during the one hundred and twenty-five years since his death, confront the contemporary researcher with

23. Ooms, Herman, Charismatic Bureaucrat: A Political Biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, 1758-1820, Chicago, 1975, p. 10.

a massive task, an almost impossible conundrum, before he can put pen to paper himself. As scholars we are all dependent on the same sources but we never uncover the same man. Where and who is the real Shōin?

At the outset it was not the intention of the thesis to advance evidence in support of one or other of the many persuasive arguments concerning Shōin's role and its fulfilment in a time of national crisis. As the research progressed, however, it seemed clear that above all else Shōin was a man of his time, working within the structural confines of the late Tokugawa society. If he was also charismatic and the stuff of which heroes are made, so much the better. Attracting others, he acted as a centripetal force which drew into himself many intellectual currents, and deflected them through his outstanding intellect and sensibilities into the life of his contemporaries. To step over the agglomeration of so much material and present even the events of this extraordinary life in narrative form only, let alone a balanced analysis, is a daunting prospect. These parameters far exceed the scope of any one dissertation. All historians, both Japanese and Western, therefore, must start at the beginning with Hagi and the Yoshida Shōin Zenshū.²⁴

Another problem, at first seemingly almost insurmountable, dominated the early stages of this research. That was the problem of language, not the simple difficulty presented by the need to work in a language other than one's mother tongue, but the understanding of what has been translated in the context of its times. The fact is that much of the vast literary legacy of the scholar Shōin, and indeed most of the tremendous bulk of available resource material on the Tokugawa period and Meiji Restoration, are written in classical Japanese

24. Yamaguchiken Kyōikukai; Yoshida Shōin Zenshū (10 vols.), Tokyo, 1st edition, 1934-36, 2nd edition (12 vols), 1938-40.

of the Chinese tradition called "kambun" and are therefore inaccessible by the way of usual Japanese language skills. The written language in pre-modern times was divided into several separate styles, each drawing its vocabulary and syntax from early Chinese or Japanese traditions. There were more than ten thousand Chinese characters in use among the more highly educated Japanese in Shōin's day, and samurai regarded writing as a way of displaying their erudition, a kind of academic showcase for their social and political status. Among them, Shōin was by no means the least as a brief glance at the impeccable presentation of Shichi Kisoku ("Seven Principles of the Samurai") (Plate 31) will show.²⁵

The plain fact is that there is little possibility of 'skimming' documents in search of material. Resources must often be 'ploughed through', steadily and slowly, to obtain even faintest glimmerings of corroboration of evidence of names and dates, let alone enjoyment of philosophical argument.²⁶ Not only foreigners experience this difficulty; writers of Japanese history are still prone to dodge the issue by preying on scholars who have preceded them in their field of interest, and their predilection for unsubstantiated, subjective judgement and lack of documentation and cross references can be very frustrating indeed.

I do not wish to linger over-long on this more painful aspect of our discipline except to turn briefly once more to what I believe is

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25. The original *kakemono* (scroll) in the archives of the Shōin Jinja in Hagi is reproduced here in reversal facsimile. (Plate 31)
 26. This applies equally to one of the most important collections of "base" documents for research in Chōshū han and related subjects such as Shōin's life, which may be found in Yamaguchiken Archives, reference collection, 18 vols, held in the Yamaguchi Prefectural Library, Yamaguchi City. All chronologies name lists and tenure of Chōshū han officials from mid-17th century are held here, but distressingly loosely indexed and cross referenced, under the general category *Yakuninchō*. Unlike Mito and other archives held in former castletowns, they escaped war damage.

one of the minor reasons the multiplication of interpretation persists. The greater proportion of Shōin's extant writings originated in the decade of his maturity, between 1849 and 1859, and so at a high point of controversy.

From the inception of Restoration studies, foreign scholars have adopted a variety of devices by which to overcome these problems of translation and interpretation. Those singled out for discussion in Chapter One are Stevenson (1899) and Lanman (1883) by hearsay, the latter brilliantly, Coleman (1917) by translation of Tokutomi Iichirō (1893), Murdoch (1926) by collaboration with a Japanese scholar, and van Straelen (1912) working alone but sometimes inaccurately.²⁷ Even Craig (1961), to whom a great debt is owed by all Western historians working in Chōshū, sometimes leans heavily on Suematsu's *Bōchō Kaiten shi*. Hane's contribution to the field of Tokugawa scholarship was obliquely through his 1974 translation of Maruyama Masao's Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan (1952) which opened up the field to those who had no language at all. By that time the wave of "new" scholars such as Jansen, Earl, Webb and Totman, were retracing the steps of the pioneers with their own meticulous scholarship, and Beasley was supporting his Select Documents on Japanese Policy 1853-1858 (1954) with the definitive work, The Meiji Restoration (1970).²⁸

To circumvent some of these problems the best method was to take advantage of the time and skills offered by these pioneering studies except in one's area of special concentration, that is, the aspects of Shōin's life including his journeys and educational activities, the

27. van Straelen, H., Yoshida Shōin: Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, Leiden, 1952, p. 34, for example, lists Kido Kōin twice among the students who carried Shōin's body from the execution ground, once as Kido Kōin and once as Katsura Kogoro.

28. To avoid confusion after the initial acknowledgment these two titles by Beasley, W.G. are listed as Beasley, Select Documents, and Beasley, respectively.

Shōka Sonjuku, selected poems, papers and memorials. Here much effort has been expended in returning to the original source, *Yoshida Shōin Zenshū*. It was then the extent of distortion of meaning and interpretation became apparent. Not only foreigners but also Japanese scholars and writers of loyalist, nationalist, Marxist, in fact any, philosophical persuasion, have as much to answer for as the sometimes less skilled but more patient Western scholars. I should add that my attention was only fully engaged on this problem after a highly competent Japanese scholar of Chinese studies offered to purchase for my benefit, a "simple book on Shōin's life and thought" after a gruelling session translating Shōin on 'duty' in Komō Yōwa ("Additional Notes in Explanation of Mencius"). "Komō Yōwa is too complicated for a *gaijin* to comprehend", was the comment. These are some of the problems which have to be faced when a re-examination of Shōin's life and thought, with particular emphasis on the Shōka Sonjuku, is indicated.

Difficult Times: Tempō through Ansei

One of the reasons for the decision against including a separate chapter "Shōin's Japan" in this thesis was the awareness of the potential disintegrating, rather than integrating effect, it may have on the whole presentation. In addition there was an awareness of a strong temptation to re-write Bakumatsu history in order to emphasize the enormity of the issues confronting the central shogunal administration into which Shōin, physically restricted but academically brilliant, intruded his thoughts and actions. It is essential, however, not to underplay the peculiarly difficult times into which he was born nor to overlook some of the essential structures of the Tokugawa socio-political system through their familiarity. Lanman has preserved for posterity an early newspaper account of Japan which reflects some of the distress of the period which historical sources confirm:

Now in those days (Tempō 1) a terribly selfish and oppressive spirit pervaded among official and mercantile classes alike...The crops had for several years past been very bad and the high price of rice causing much misery. In Tempō 7 (1836) heavy rain fell unceasingly and so unusually cold was that summer clothes could scarcely be worn in the 6th month...The following month a still more violent tempest uprooted trees, (and) wrecked many vessels on the coast.²⁹

Shōin was born in Tempō 1 (1830) and grew up through adolescence in a period associated with recession, economic distress in the countryside, earthquakes, fires in Edo, scandals in the shogunal palace itself, central government reforms "too little, too late", rumours and news of the Eastern Advance of Western Powers and foreign ships in Japanese waters. The Tokugawa Bakufu was faced with a profound crisis affecting all aspects of society, and with the need to create from the bases of the received neo-Confucian tradition and political and social structures, a suitable ideology able to meet that crisis. By the late 1840s when Shōin was graduating from the Chōshū academy for sons of samurai, "loyalist" ideology in the sense of revitalization of old national ideals of Emperor and Nation, mixed with sharp modern perceptions of delegated responsibility and legitimization of authority on the shogunal axis, was widespread amongst the samurai intelligentsia.³⁰ Any reform initiatives which must be taken by the Bakufu at Edo in respect of their own areas of administrative jurisdiction began, and ended, with the individual shogun and their senior councillors. The weakness of any economic measures they wished to adopt, for example, could not appreciably stabilize prices nor alter the pattern of commercial activities. The merchants in the cities by the nineteenth century

29. Lanman, Charles, Leading Men of Japan, Boston 1883, pp. 69-70, citing Japan Mail, no date.

30. Webb, Herschel, The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period, New York, 1968, remains the best study in this area.

had developed an autonomous base and were independently operational. It was only in the localized areas of the not inconsiderable Tokugawa domains that they might be expected to be effective. Nevertheless, a pattern of reforms emanated from able shogun and their advisers shared common aims and motivations during nearly one hundred and fifty years' development.³¹ Murdoch, with a typically felicitous turn of phrase, describes the Tokugawa system as experiencing and encompassing measures against heterodox intellectual movements, and bans against any teaching which did not comply with Chu Hsi philosophy. He also described 'intermittent spasms of virtue'³² underlying the association of ethical behaviour, economics and government. Overall the reforms were characterised by an emphasis on the need for frugality and moderation in the domestic expenditure of the townspeople, the desire to revitalize the sense of public duty of the samurai and the morale of the bureaucracy, and relief of the endemic financial crises of the Bakufu. An awareness of the primacy of ethical behaviour is crucial to an understanding of the reforms and particularly to the question of success or failure of any economic measures taken. An important element in the idea of ethical revival was the emphasis on the value of neo-Confucian scholarship in restoring order to society. The Kansei Edicts represented the culmination of the tendency to associate normative government with neo-Confucian ethics. Sadanobu denied employment in the Bakufu to anyone professing any of the unorthodox philosophies.³³ All such measures aimed at restoring the strong qualities of the original Bakufu foundation, but by the mid-nineteenth century they had proven themselves

31. The common aims and motivations of the Shogun Yoshimune (1684-1751), Rōjū Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) and the Rōjū Mizuno Tadakuni (1793-1851) were encapsulated in the Kyōhō, Kansei and Tempō Reforms respectively.

32. Murdoch, James, A History of Japan, Vol. III, London, 1926, p.411.

33. Hane, Mikiso, Japan: A Historical Survey, New York, 1972, p.207.

bankrupt.

This discussion indicates that there existed by Shōin's time, an actuality of politics and society, and an ideal from which practice had diverged. Since the pre-occupation with much of the politics in the Bakumatsu period is with the gradual disintegration of the Tokugawa hegemony and the institutional structures that held it together, it might be useful to be reminded that the Tokugawa system, 'web of government', had been put together slowly as the House of Tokugawa itself rose to the position of national supremacy, using moreover, patterns which had been inherited from the structures of earlier periods. Stability was achieved by simple politics of power and the confiscation and redistribution of land of the great daimyo opposition after Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara in 1600. The Imperial House had not been concerned with executive power for over six hundred years, being the supreme sovereign in a single line of divine succession in theory only, as a legitimizing agency. This organic growth gave the Tokugawa structure which evolved, a peculiarly resilient quality by which it maintained its domination for more than two hundred years.³⁴ By the time Shōin was concerned with philosophical issues of Imperial-shogunal relationships, the Tokugawa structure in overview appeared like this. At the apex of power was the Emperor, co-eval with Heaven and earth, of single lineage, 'unbroken through the ages'. All power was vested in the hereditary office of shogun whose authority was legitimized by the Emperor and who in turn exercised authority through the Bakufu. The Bakufu administration had a personnel of seventeen thousand samurai class, and was the preserve of the shogunal household members and retainers. Its most senior posts could only be held by

34. The administrative structure took its final form with few emendations in the regime of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (shogun 1623-1651). The last shogun Yoshinobu (Keiki) resigned in 1867.

fudai daimyo. The exact number of the latter was variable but in 1855 there were one hundred and fifty-one fudai daimyo compared with twenty-one shimpan and one hundred and eight tozama.³⁵ The fudai had smaller holdings than the shimpan or tozama, there being only sixteen fudai han with an income of more than one hundred *kokudaka*,³⁶ but through their monopolization of the top sixty or so Bakufu positions they exercised dominant political power in Japan.

In Edo the daimyo had to spend alternate and graded periods in residence at the shogunal capital- the sankin kōtai system. In the Edo palace ceremonies and consultations, they were arranged according to the size of their domains and their relationship to the shōgun's family. At shogunal audiences in Edo castle they were seated within seven chambers. Of the four chambers of political importance the closest to the shogun's person was the *ōrōkanomazume shu* (Great Corridor) which held the eight wealthiest shimpan houses, including the three great sanke houses of Mito, Owari and Kii from which shogunal successors could be chosen should there be no direct heir, as well as the four most powerful tozama lords. The second chamber was the *tamarinomazume shu* (Antechamber) in which were seated the next most important shimpan daimyo and the seven most important fudai daimyo. The third chamber or *ōbiromazume shu* (Great Hall) contained those remaining daimyo with over 100,000 *kokudaka*, for the most part tozama and shimpan, while the fourth chamber or *teikannomazume shu* (Hall of the Emperors) held the

35. Totman, Conrad, Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu 1600-1643 Cambridge, Mass. 1967, pp. 34-36 and pp. 112-3. Also Beasley, W.G., The Meiji Restoration, Stanford, 1972, pp. 1-40. Also Hall, John W., and Jansen, Marius B., Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan, contains a wealth of detail in nominated areas. Note particularly Hall, J.W., "Feudalism in Japan, a reassessment", pp. 15-54, and "Foundations of Modern Japanese Daimyo", pp. 65-78.

36. *Kokudaka*: Land valuation expressed in *koku* 4.96:bushels of rice.

bulk of fudai lords,³⁷ being the established working of the neo-Confucian philosophy of both society and politics. The four classes described succinctly by Shōin himself,³⁸ are samurai, peasant, artisan/craftsman, merchant, and the outcaste or excluded *eta* and *hinin*, the non-persons who plied unpleasant trades.³⁹ The pattern in which the system was set, descended through the samurai stratum of eight to ten percent of the total national population which fluctuated between twenty-seven and thirty million persons, through the rurally-based class, usually called peasants, though there was great variation in individual wealth. This rural class was estimated at eighty-three to eighty-seven percent of the total population. Townspeople, that is the merchants, bankers, craftsmen and artisans, followed with the 'outcaste' or non-status population. In comparison the administrative, military aristocracy of approximately one million two hundred and eighty-two thousand, was small,⁴⁰ its power disproportionate to its numerical strength. Despite instances of individual problems arising between the classes, this system was basically a firmly and rigorously ordered system, with interlocking mechanisms over which ultimate control was in the hands of the Bakufu. Moreover, the money economy and cash flow, which became an increasingly difficult area to control, was not ignored, but neither was it fostered. Under certain extreme conditions it was arbitrarily exploited by the Bakufu authorities in theirs and their samurai interests. The *bushi*, samurai, in a way, could be said to care for the peasants, since the stability of the whole system depended on the proper maintenance of regular tax payments, and the aim, no doubt naive to the modern

37. Totman, op.cit., pp. 112-114.

38. See Chapter Three, Introduction to the anatomy of a jōkamachi. Discussion on Matsumoto *mura*.

39. Hane, op.cit., p. 178, quotes 380,000 high point population at the end of the Tokugawa period.

40. Hane, op.cit., p. 166.

economist, was to prevent social and economic change in the countryside and at the same time prevent money economy intruding into the self-sufficient economic units of which it was composed.

In a similar way a cumbersome, but reasonably effective, control was maintained by the Bakufu over the daimyō. They, to all intents and purposes were autonomous in their own domains, but finally very much pinned to an unchanging pattern by the sankin-kōtai system or alternate residence, which drained their resources and fostered excessive pressure on the transport and communications network. The system had been consolidated by a revised code of 1635 which stated:

It is now settled that the daimyō and shomyō are to serve in turns (*kōtai*) at Edo. They shall proceed hither (*sankin*) every year in summer during the course of the fourth month. Lately the number of retainers and servants accompanying them have become excessive... Hereafter suitable reductions in this respect must be made. ⁴¹

Yet as with most of these acceptable means of control, it also had its advantages, many incalculable. The constant through-flow of men, money and ideas from shogunal capital to daimyō castletown, during two hundred and sixty years and through the length and breadth of the nation, helped generate a dynamic for change (Plate 3a).

Edo and environs, a capital and consumer region, and Osaka, the great supply centre, were two of the largest cities in the world outclassing all save London. They were prototypes for castletowns in the various domains with a sophisticated urban culture of their own. By the Genroku (1684-1703) period, urban culture had reached its full flowering. In Kyoto, the quiet 'old' capital of the Imperial Court, the *kuge*, court aristocrats, pursued the arts, fostered classical Chinese studies and increased the number of official occasions on which they entered

41. Lu, David M., Sources of Japanese History, Vol. One, New York, 1974, p. 167.

or left the city to give or receive lectures. The Emperor stood away and enclosed in his palace, above the class structure, the supreme legitimizing agency binding men through itself to the land, and to the Gods, but having little reality in the life and function of the community.

This much of the Japan in which Shōin grew up is necessary background, culled from many sources, and seen in relation to those aspects of the system in which Shōin would be forced to explore alternatives. Until he divorced himself from it by reason of his first decision to fly in the face of han regulations by spurning travel restrictions, he had his own hereditary position of duty and obligation in Chōshū han. Thereafter, whether in prison, domiciliary confinement or temporary freedom, he had no right nor access to authority, status or the decision-making processes, nor did he show any marked inclination to do so except by admonition.

By 1858 the year in which Shōin had reached a crisis in his thinking and action, the foreign presence and foreign policy had become such a 'public' issue, i.e. it could no longer be contained within the ranks of those who by heredity were the decision-makers. It had spread outwards involving court nobles, daimyo outside the consultative councils, low ranking samurai who in the future may have access to office, and finally to men outside the reach of both the actuality and potential governance, and had to open up new ways to do so. This was now a crisis situation akin to revolution.⁴²

What role did Shōin have, perceive or wish to have in this situation and how did he reflect or convey the Confucian model of a scholar/samurai in a crisis? Unlike the neo-Confucian scholars of whom Ooms

42. Beasley, W.G., The Meiji Restoration, Stanford 1972, p. 140.

complains,⁴³ whose notes, journals and position papers reveal nothing of his true thought, but reflect only the role model he feels called on to play. Shōin has left us a plethora of personal letters, memorials and notes unhampered by any confinement by Confucian rhetoric. There also is an added element of what seems a new activism, or at least a will to act, in which the planning of the doing rather than the accomplishment of the deed or that which was accomplished by the performance of those instigated to act by Shōin, is virtue. Inoue Nisshō said at his trial after the abortive coup in 1932:

Without destruction however there can be no construction. Since ultimate denial is the same as genuine affirmation, destruction is itself construction and the two are one.⁴⁴

Shōin's writings from prison at Noyama after his final detention before he is summoned to Edo to answer accusations, ring with this kind of desperate positivism. How do we separate the person from the socially prescribed role imposed by an inflexible code of behaviour? Was Shōin acting out Confucian motives, Mencian precepts and the role of Sage willing to put his life on the line, providing the circumstances were right? Did he now fully understand his prescribed role but needed the circumstances in which to test it? If the answer is even an equivocal 'yes' then a second question may be posed - 'Was his first act of defiance at Mito over the missing visa, and his conceived plan at Shimoda, the breakaway point?'

One judgment levelled at Shōin by scholars anxious to prove him radical, and a revolutionary, is that his writings incite to revolution. Frustrated biographers censure his diaries and letters along with those of other Confucian scholars for revealing too little of the private

43. Ooms, op.cit., p. 10.

44. Morris, Ivan, Japan 1931-1945: Militarism, Japanism, Fascism, in Problems of Asian Civilization, Heath & Co., 1967, p.37. Inoue, a radical right-wing civilian, was on trial for "inciting revolutionary actions" at the Incident of February 26, 1936.

person, being concerned only with what Craig calls 'public personality',⁴⁵ and its projection required by his station in life. Shōin, as the professor of Yamaga martial arts and defence theory, the teacher of Chinese Classics and a loyal samurai of the House of Mōri, as he states so often, had a clearly defined role to play. And play the role Shōin did admirably, as is witnessed by his admonitions to his Hanshū at times of crisis. Whether he also perceived himself as having a role as a radical activist is more difficult to identify. He did, however, demonstrate a strong confidence in the propriety of the admonitions theory,⁴⁶ with a clear remonstrance in several situations of national crisis. After the shogun had taken the unprecedented step of consulting all daimyo in the nation in July 1853, Shōin, although already deprived of samurai status and income for a previous misdemeanour and ignoring accusations of presumption, sent the Hanshū a strongly worded letter of advice following his fact-finding visit to the American naval anchorage at Uraga on Edo Bay. Masa ni shigen oyoban to su ("I dare to give my Personal Opinion").⁴⁷ Three further treatises followed,⁴⁸ elaborating on his ideas on national policy, no doubt after serious discussions with Sakuma Shōzan⁴⁹ in Edo. They were written in Edo and

45. Craig, A.M. and Shiveley D.H. (eds), Personality in Japanese History, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 5 and 87.

46. Earl, D. Magarey, Emperor and Nation in Japan, Seattle, 1964, pp. 202-3, discusses this theory at length. It expresses the conviction of the traditional Confucian scholar's best display of loyalty on the part of servant to lord is to exhort or act as a tender conscience for his master in matters of duty and obligation, YSZ VIII: 15/8-20.

47. Table 3.

48. YSZ VIII, cited van Straelen, op.cit., p. 44.

Kyūmu Jōgi - Articles on how to attend to Immediate Duties;

Kyūmu Saku - Measures to counter Immediate Duties;

Setsui Shigi - Personal Opinion with Regard to Foreign Relations.

49. Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), adviser to the Lord of Matsushiro, Dutch scholar and advocate of Western science and technology, had a famous atelier in Edo at this time. Shōin was a frequent visitor.

duly filed with his domain authorities with a fine disregard for possible consequences. It is very interesting to compare the contents of these three memorials whose atmosphere and injunctions predate them by almost ten years, with an exchange between Matsudaira Keiei (1828-1890)⁵⁰ and the Bakufu in December 1862 on the same subject of national policy unity and control of foreigners,

as a servant of the Emperor, the Shōgun must in all things respect his will...⁵¹

followed by a statement which reflected a situation Shōin feared would happen if the shogunate had unbridled power and remained unrestrained by men of Imperial loyalty.

...although the Emperor desired the expulsion of the foreigners, it was the Shōgun's duty to refuse to carry out such orders because he thought that they would not be in the country's interests...,⁵²

and the final bitter condemnation of shogunal impotence:

...The Imperial Court is well aware that the Bakufu is in abject terror of the foreigners, and that it is this feeling which makes its whole policy one of submission to their never-ending rapacity, and causes the Shōgun to ignore the "barbarian-subduing" duties of his office.⁵³

In 1853 the absolute sonnō position (revere the emperor) which Shōin represented, excluded the barbarians. Jōi was still by Tokugawa law the official national position under Sakoku, yet with a short sharp movement forward due to the American presence in Japanese waters, It now ran counter to the opinion of the official decision-making body, the shogunate, which saw opening the country as inevitable. By 1852 when Shōin was already dead, the sonnō position permitted a temporary foreign alignment and drew together some Imperial Court interests

50. Matsudaira Keiei (1828-1890) also known as Shungaku and Yoshinaga, was a Kamon lord of Echizen domain with an income of 320,000 koku. Leader of the Hitotsubashi clique

51. Beasley, W.G., Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy 1853-1868, London 1954, pp. 227-231. Matsudaira Keiei to Bakufu, 4 December 1862, p. 228.

52. Ibid., p. 231.

53. Ibid., p. 233.

with those of the bakufu, into a union of court and bakufu identified as Kobu-gattai.⁵⁴ Even it alienated some of the Court's traditional support, driving it into an extremist position which would culminate in the *Kinmon no ran* (The Incident at the Forbidden Gate to the Imperial Palace), 1864. Such a situation Shōin did not envisage, but in 1853 when he wrote his first admonitory treatise his stance was theoretically acceptable and legal.

It is now possible to look more closely at the objectives and methods undergirding this thesis and its presentation. The body of the text falls into five main categories, called chapters for convenience but usually sections, or parts, since each chapter carries clear sub divisions. They are an Introduction, Chapter One, History Versus the Historian; Chapter Two, Shōin's Life and Times; Chapter Three, Hagi of Nagato, Castletown of the Mōri; Chapter Four, Shōin's Thought and Educational Principles and Practice; and Chapter Five, Fourth Season, which incorporates what may be termed a conclusion. There are supporting Glossary, Plates of photographs and maps, an Appendix and the usual bibliographies. Each chapter, though varying in length, has an important place in the whole.

The above brief overview of the historical circumstances within which Shoin was to work out his "painful destiny"⁵⁵ is intended to accompany the chronological tables of his life and times prefixed to Chapter Two below. Reference has already been made to the agglomeration of interpretative writing which, over the intervening years since Shōin's death in 1859 have gradually served to obscure, rather than

54. Glossary.

55. Ivan Morris' concept of the 'failed hero'. See further Morris, Ivan, The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan, New York, 1975, p. 10.

reveal, the person of Shōin and his role in the tumultuous events preceding the Meiji Restoration. In order to free ourselves from this almost overwhelming weight of accrued interpretation and to search for not only the real Shōin but his "everlasting spirit", it is necessary first to adopt as objective an approach as possible to the range of opinion and interpretation which spans the period intervening between Shōin's death and the present,⁵⁶ and weigh the significance of shifting currents of interpretation against the background of post-Tokugawa change in Japan. It is, however, important to remember that there is a strong stream of historiographical opinion in Japan which, believing in 'intuitive history', is adamant that only an understanding of the Japanese *kokoro*⁵⁷ gives one access to true understanding of historical processes. In order to achieve this aim it is necessary to recreate a picture of the geographical, temporal and philosophical context of Shōin's life, and to review in categories the major streams of interpretive and biographical works.

Having established a firm grasp on the many faceted historiographical controversy in Chapter One, "History versus the Historian", it is then possible to proceed to a substantial section which is entitled "Life and Times" in Chapter Two. In the linking of life with times rather than including a more conventional narrative style "life", a statement is being made concerning the parallel movement from crisis to crisis experienced in both Shoin's own life and thought, and in the life of the nation. This puts a heavier emphasis on Chapter Two than was originally intended. A simple chronological listing of dates and events by its nature precludes interpretation, but such is the nature of

56. 1983 is taken as cut-off point for this research.

57. *kokoro*: lit. heart, mind, often spirit or soul, akin in usage to *kokutai*, referring to Japanese essential or unique qualities, unique polity.

the material and the wealth of Shōin's own writings within it, some interpretation is desirable rather than refraining from historical deduction until the conclusion. For convenience the chapter is divided into sub-sections marking stages of Shōin's physical and spiritual circumstances.

This chapter is not strictly biographical. However the material which informs it was gathered over a number of years from local historical society and clan records and inevitably concentrated on the man and his presence. It was a venture also into oral history and involved the undertaking of journeys in winter and summer during a number of visits to Japan, which covered most of the distances travelled by Shōin in his journeys, and visits to the places of significance at which he lingered. The difference was, of course, that Shōin walked most of the eleven thousand kilometres official Chōshū records claim as accurate. Nevertheless, with the limitations created by changing transport and communication patterns, it was still possible to absorb some of the flavour and the difficulties of those long journeyings from Hirado, a small island off the southwest coast of Kyushu, to more obscure villages in Izu and Aizu Wakamatsu. The problem of how to incorporate both the flavour of these journeys and factual detail, and still maintain control of length, was never completely solved.

The text of this thesis, therefore, includes maps which trace Shōin's main journeys together with a selective collection of photographic plates and reproduction of historical maps. For convenience these are grouped together at the end of the thesis, with a descriptive list attached. Ideally they should have been incorporated into the text itself, but a compromise was reached by incorporating direct reference by number to a specific plate in the appropriate place in the text. Except in the case of reproductions of photographic prints

held in libraries or rare book collections, the original photographs are in colour. My journeyings were made incomparably easier by the identification of an Index to Shōin's Travel Diaries, compiled and edited by Shinagawa Yajirō and Yoshida Kōso in Meiji 13 (1882).⁵⁸ Debt to these sources and to local information bureaux, railway time tables and tourist office information holdings, can only be acknowledged overall. It would be impossible to include individual accreditation for all of the many pieces of information so acquired, one short-coming of present oral history research methods.

It would be appropriate at this point to record the appalling waste of valuable materials by fire, natural hazards, even ignorance, but chiefly by wartime devastation, which has occurred over the last century. This last point is best illustrated by a comparison of the cities of Hagi and Mito, both former castletowns of eminent daimyo of the Tokugawa period, Hagi of the tozama domain of Chōshū and Mito, of the *gosanke*, the collateral Tokugawa House.

The city of Mito is situated close to the Pacific sea coast not more than 63 kilometres north-east of Tokyo, on the direct flight paths of U.S. bomber aircraft of the war. Their flight paths are clearly delineated by lines of new buildings constructed since 1945. Only the main lecture hall complex of the vast Kōdōkan (Mito Academy) survived the bombings and now houses only a very meagre collection of scholarly works of the vast Han deposits. A new prefectural museum has been opened on a different site and plans to make new collections put into effect. Hagi, on the other hand, on the Sea of Japan, though vulnerable to cannon bombardment from both French and British naval vessels in the mid-nineteenth century because of its proximity to the

58. Shinagawa Yajirō and Yoshida Kōso (eds), Index of Shōin's Travel Diaries, Tokyo, 1882, listed in Nihon Jumbutsu Bunken Mokuroku, Heibonsha Tokyo, 1974, p. 1151. Entries on Yoshida Shōin, 292 titles, pp. 1151-1154.

other sites closely associated with Shōin's intellectual formation, especially the headquarters of the Mitogaku in Mito city itself where Shoin spent a brief, but probably one of the most significant episodes of his equally brief life.⁶⁰

There is not a direct equation between environment and concept; there is causal reciprocity which must be taken into account. Other visual evidence in the form of Bakumatsu period drawings demonstrate or highlight contemporary thought as clearly as written philosophical discourse. Take for example, the case of arguments put forward by historians concerning the time and rationale of the increasing emphasis on modern military method and equipment in the curriculum of the Meirinkan. The written arguments are clothed in neo-Confucian philosophical concepts, but the practical concerns of power, government and modernization which they illustrate is stripped of its elaborate rationalization by the simple ploy of looking at the print (Plate 32). The allocation of such an extensive area for musketry on the new Meirinkan site plans is irrefutable evidence of the way the mind of the Chōshū Han bureaucracy was working in 1848-1849.

The reader is therefore urged to pay more than cursory attention to the visual material presented with this thesis, accepting it as an integral part of the argument rather than a mere device for brightening the text. No work published in Western languages on Shōin or Bakumatsu has given appropriate recognition to the importance of such evidence.⁶¹

The explanation of the visual resources has been added at this

60. See Table 2, Chronology, for 1852-3, for Mito visits.

61. A brief editorial note. Unless otherwise stated all photographs were taken by myself or under my direct supervision at the various sites between 1969 and 1982. They are a small selection only of a larger collection. The original prints are in colour, but have been converted and mounted to page size, half-tones for ready reproduction in thesis format, with some loss of contrast and detail.

point in the discussion on objectives and methods because of its relevance to Chapters Two and Three. Therefore, having established the historical and physical contexts of the thesis, the remaining sections can attempt to account for the crucial nature of the relationship between Shōin and his students at the Sonjuku. I refer to Chapter Four, Shoin's Thought and Educational Principles and Practice. It is a logical development of the first three chapters that we should next establish the means by which Shōin communicated his philosophy and ideas, and pose questions of goals and motivation. To place it fully in the matrix of the Tokugawa education system, and within the controversy over talent and meritocracy, the subject would require a full length monograph alone. Here the aim is to narrow the focus on the life and personality of Shōin in his role as principal figure at the Shōka Sonjuku in comparatively short periods of intense teaching and writing associated with his times of domiciliary confinement during the years from May 1854 to May 1859.⁶² It was during that time his influence achieved the greatest outreach. Altogether the concentrated teaching time was less than eighteen months when he had sole responsibility for the direction and purpose of the "village school under the pines" Shōka (Matsushita) Sonjuku - a very misleading designation.

The Shōka Sonjuku is studied both retrospectively in terms of Tokugawa educational theory and practice, and from the point of view of its impact on Meiji leadership and by derivation, on the modern Japanese state. While we can only endorse the latter, swords must be joined with Rubinger over his categorization of it as a school of direct action preparing men for activist politics.⁶⁴ Shōin strove by conservative Confucian means to reach a radical decision on the

62. On this day Shōin left to answer accusations at a judicial enquiry in Edo.

63. See Table 3 entries for 1857-1858.

64. Rubinger, Richard, Private Academies of the Tokugawa Period, Princeton, N.J., 1982, pp. 187-188.

problems confronting his nation.

Chapter Five, "The Fourth Season" also incorporating the conclusion, is an analysis of parts of the *Ryūkon Roku* ("In Search of an Everlasting Spirit").⁶⁵ It looks at Shōin's last days which, after the tumultuous events of the previous six months, slide away in a Mencian sage-like review. It looks briefly at the men of Meiji and their fulfilment of Shōin's loyalism but in a new day and age.

I am only thirty years old and I die without having accomplished anything. I resemble a crop which sent forth ears but did not ripen, and it seems to be pitiful. While applying this to myself, I can say that the time of ripening has come....

...

If you think a hundred years too long, it is as if you wished a *reichin* to live as short as a cicada. In neither case, in your opinion, is destiny fulfilled. Yoshida Shōin, though only thirty years old, has already had his four seasons; he has sent forth his ears with ripe grain. Whether they are blasted ears or corn, I do not know myself.

Through a meticulous textual exegesis of the *Sonjukuki* (1856) here presented with commentary for the first time, and the heart of the thesis itself, we gain a clearer perspective on Shōin's grasp of educational principles and his simple and direct approach to teaching as communication for the purpose of shaping the intellect, and firming the personality within the community. An impression emerges from the background of the Sonjuku days of a brilliant mind and personality unconfined by circumstances.

It would be irresponsible to push the musical analogy too far but in the case of Shōin it has the virtue of pointing up well defined stages in the development of his thought and action. His life appears to fall readily into phases, paralleled and increasingly interlocking with local and national events. This is a boon as well as a pitfall

65. Translated, van Straelen, Heinrich, and reproduced van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

to the Restoration historian who is seeking simple answers to questions of motivation, as the most cursory glance at the Chronological Tables included in this thesis will show.⁶⁶ These phases might be labelled "His Boyhood", "The Formative Years" - a temptation to which this writer has succumbed,⁶⁷ proceeding in the mode of a symphony to "Promise of Grandeur", "The Eye that wildly looks", being a rendition of a chapter title in a well-known cult hero book,⁶⁸ "The Black Ships", "The Gathering Storm", "Crisis", and the finale "Judgment at Edo". In the case of Shōin and because of his almost overwhelming presence in a number of great shrines sacred to his memory, a postlude is required, "*Shizuka na kami nari*,"⁶⁹ which could be rendered "the tranquility of a spirit transcendent".

66. Tables 2 and 3.

67. Chapter Two, ii, "The Formative Years".

68. Tanaka Junsuke (Shunsuke), Ishin no Sendatsu Yoshida Shōin, Hagi, 1967, Contents page.

69. A category of spiritual progression after death in common usage in Japan's religious experience.

Chapter One

History versus the Historian

尊王攘夷

Yoshida Shōin¹ is an entity, omnipresent in a remarkable number of works both historical and non-historical, Japanese and non-Japanese, an entity concerning whom there seem to be almost as many interpretations as there are authors.² This low-ranking samurai from the domain of Chōshū, the central figure of the Shōka Sonjuku,³ prolific writer of philosophical and political tracts, and executed as a criminal at Denmachō Prison in Edo at the age of twenty-nine years, has been called many names from dedicated nationalist to proto-communist insurrectionary, arch-conservative to ultra-radical, reprobate revolutionary to messianic redeemer, Shintō *kami*, and by an extravagant Western admirer, "Martyred Prophet of Japanese Expansionism".⁴ Robert Louis Stevenson, better known for his adventurous tales of the South Seas than for his historical studies, included Yoshida Shōin in a biographical collection, Familiar Studies of Men and Books, published in 1899. He writes:

The name Yoshida Torajirō is probably unknown to the English reader, and yet I think it should become a household word like that of Garibaldi and John Brown.⁵

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1. See Chapter Two for biographical details.
 2. Nihon Jumbutsu Bunken Kokuroku, Tokyo, 1974, pp. 1151-1154, lists two hundred and ninety-two titles by reputable Japanese authors alone published in the ninety years after 1882 (Meiji 13).
 3. Shōka Sonjuku, also Matsumoto Sonjuku, sometimes Hagi Sonjuku, a private academy situated in a village peripheral to the castletown of Hagi. See further Chapter Three.
 4. Timperley, H., "Yoshida Shōin - Martyred Prophet of Japanese Expansionism". The Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. I, no. 4, 1942, p. 313.
 5. Stevenson, Robert Louis, "Yoshida Torajirō" (Shōin). Familiar Studies of Men and Books, London, 1899, pp. 172-191. Lanman concludes his study by saying "It is exhilarating to have lived in the same days with these great-hearted gentlemen...while I was drowsing over my lessons Yoshida was forcing himself to be wakeful with the stings of a mosquito", Lanman, Charles, Leading Men of Japan, Boston, 1883, p. 225.

A compatriot of Shōin, writing in an age and of a Japan both Shōin and Stevenson would scarcely have recognized, said

His character was as high as Mt. Fuji, and as pure as springing water. I might say he was a living God. His scholarship belongs to the firstclass in Japan. He was a man of immortal influence.⁶

It is this juxtaposition of character, charisma and scholarship which forces even the most casual observer to look more closely at the man and his society in the critical days preceding the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and at those men who studied with him, seven of whom were to hold high office in government during the Meiji and Taishō periods.⁷

There is one only full biographical study of Shōin in English,⁸ but to a lesser or greater extent his life and philosophy are subjected to close scrutiny by many historians in the course of their exploration of the problems of nineteenth century Japanese history. Scholars in both Japan and the West are in agreement over the bankruptcy of previously well respected theories and have gone to extraordinary lengths to explore new ways of redressing the balance of scholarship. In Japan there has been a strong swing to local and regional concentration in much of the Japanese historical writings especially in journals, and this constant pressure towards uncovering new evidence in support of established theories, has borne fruit in the publication in January 1983 of a new monthly journal⁹ which regularly lists all

6. Suzuki Wataru, Shōin Yoshida and the World Situation, Aoyama Shobo, Tokyo, 1980, p.11. Foreword by former Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke.

7. Suzuki quotes Shōin as saying of the Shōka Sonjuku where he instructed a group of youths from Hagi and the neighbourhood: "The school is situated in a remote place, but the pupils should be the columns of the Japanese Empire", pp. 12-13. Ibid.

8. Van Straelen, H.: Yoshida Shōin: Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, No. 11 in T'oung Pao Monographs, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1952.

9. Gekkan Bunkazai Hakutsu Shutsudō Jōhō, discussed in Piggott, Joan, "Keeping up with the Past", MN XXXVIII:3, 1983, pp. 313-319. This publication is drawn from resources in 222 editions of 94 newspapers from all over Japan.

reported historical and archeological discoveries of importance.

At the same time the Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, an elaborate and revolutionary National Historical Museum complex opened in Chiba prefecture in 1983, purports to give visible form to the historical writings of the past.

Since the mid-Meiji period when biographical writings on Shōin commenced, over and above the wilder flights of historical imagination found today in some provincial museums¹⁰ to which reference has already been made, images and stereotypes have crept into Japanese works which are more prolific in this area than those of their Western counterparts.¹¹ Equally with claims of the Western interpretations such as "extreme patriot", "exaggerated expansionist", "madman" and theses to substantiate the "twenty-one times audacious samurai", one finds tales of wild and improbable plots, heights of enlightenment and moments of prophecy regularly occurring in Japanese books, so that the original Shōin is overlaid and lost. Once his reputation as a scholar and teacher was established, however, all his writings were categorized under suitably scholarly headings even when one such may be a working list of students who stay for meals at the Shōka Sonjuku¹² or a scribbled greeting to his beloved young sister Chiyo with advice about family matters.¹³ The very bulk of both his own written works and of those scholars moved to write about him, encourages an attempt at one's own theories, since this chameleon Shōin changes

10. For instance Shōin Jinja Historical Museum and Mito Kōdōkan collection.

11. Op.cit. Piggott notes in "Keeping up with the past" that in Japan nearly every college and university of any standard, and there are about 400 of them, has its own humanities or historical journal, p. 313.

12. See Table 3, 1858.

13. Op.cit., van Straelen, p. 17, citing Shoka Hen no Ichi, pp. 253-265.

colour with every author. Tokutomi Iichirō (Sohō) born 1852, whom some commentators liken to the famous European historian von Ranke who was his contemporary, wrote the first substantial biographical study of Shōin in 1893.¹⁴ He coloured his portrait of Shōin with his own urgent perceptions of revolution which were associated with a sense of drastic spiritual and intellectual change at the end of the nineteenth century, called by Pyle the "crisis of identity".¹⁵ Kōsaka, in applauding Tokutomi's approach, says that "he backed up his social-psychological interpretation with an historical and socio-economic analysis - a very advanced opinion in 1893 - and followed it with a discussion of what he calls the "internal or immanent reasons" why the Bakufu was overthrown by revolution,¹⁶ the first time such an assertion was made by a reputable scholar. Tokutomi's interpretation made an indelible mark on Shōin's historical image. He stated unequivocally with scant regard for documentary evidence that Shōin was not a military specialist but a revolutionary - "what he taught breathes the spirit of revolution, what he preached was the manner of its accomplishment".¹⁷ Tokutomi then compounded his absolute statement by categorizing Shōin as the type of destructive radical who must immediately set his hand to what he sees with his eyes, in fact an extreme radical among radicals. Before a refutation of

14. Tokutomi Sohō (also Iichirō), Yoshida Shōin, Tokyo, 1893.

15. Pyle, Kenneth B., The New Generation in Meiji Japan, Stanford, 1969. Pyle notes that Tokutomi believed the rapid change in the early Meiji period had disrupted the new generation's sense of continuity with the past. He used Spencer's concepts of evolution in social structure to explain the change taking place in Meiji Japan as transition from the militant, aristocratic phase of society, to the industrial democratic phase, p. 50ff.

16. Kōsaka, Masaaki, trans. David Abosch, Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, Tokyo, 1958, p. 205 and pp. 36-48.

17. Ibid., p. 20.

this description can be framed using Shōin's own words to do so, fifteen years' further experience caused Tokutomi to dampen down his own revolutionary flames. By the 1920s Shōin had become a reformer, 'breathing a spirit of reform', preaching 'immense undertaking of reform', a man who 'rendered great service in the immense undertaking of Meiji'.¹⁸ Although the original section title "Shōin the Revolutionary" in the 1893 edition, was not repeated in the second and subsequent editions, the label of revolutionary was now firmly in place. Although in later years and in harder times "immense patriotism", "the light of New Japan",¹⁹ and other qualities and attributes were piled on Shōin's memory, the original identification of revolutionary propensities by Tokutomi was difficult to counter.

Early Western historical scholarship about Japan was more pre-occupied with the novelty of the newly-discovered Oriental culture than with concerns about the nature of the Meiji Restoration. One suspects this could well have been that the adoption of Western customs and modes of thought by an 'inferior' race was considered the fit and proper procedure in an age of Western imperialism. It is interesting to note however, that biographical sketches of Yoshida Shōin were included in the earliest collections by Western writers with the "great men of Japan" theme. R.L. Stevenson's study has already been noted. An earlier book, Leading Men of Japan, by a Bostonian named Charles Lanman,²⁰ published in 1883, and J. Morris' Makers of Japan,²¹ London, 1906, both included a section on Shōin written in suitably laudatory terms, and claimed to be based on

18. Ibid., p. 21ff., Abosch's translation.

19. Tanaka Shunsuke, Shin Nihon no Hikari, Tokyo, 1964.

20. Lanman, Charles, op.cit., 1883.

21. Morris, J., Makers of Japan, London, 1906.

details furnished by Japanese scholar acquaintances. From this we may deduce the image of Shōin was firmly established in the minds of educated Japanese as a man of considerable intellectual integrity and national importance even granting his radical propensities.

By the twentieth century this kind of Western scholarly interest in Japan had moved soberly from Morris and Stevenson through James Murdoch, the Scot who had lived and taught in Japan, and George B. Sansom, the Englishman, to E.H. Norman's Japan's Emergence as a Modern State (1940),²² and the new generation of post-war scholars for whom they were all guiding lights. Murdoch in his three volume A History of Japan, of which the third volume was published posthumously in 1926,²³ set a standard of competent narrative history, albeit frustratingly under-annotated though illuminated by splendid rolling Victorian English phrases. Murdoch was the first Western historian to collaborate closely with a Japanese scholar and to make notable use of documentary evidence. Sansom's Japan - A Short Cultural History, published in 1937, was an entirely new experience in the historical interpretation of a non-European nation and foreshadowed the scholarship which was to produce A History of Japan to 1868²⁴ in three volumes, of which the last was published in 1964 shortly before Sansom's death in 1965.

It is neither profitable nor the intention of this thesis to do more than refer briefly to the works of these scholars except insofar as they mirror changing fashions in historiography, and to draw

22. Norman, E. Herbert, Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period, New York, 1940.

23. Murdoch, James, A History of Japan (3 vols), London, 1926, rev. and ed. Joseph H. Longford.

24. Sansom, George B., A History of Japan to 1868 (3 vols), Cresset Press, London 1964; first Tuttle edn. Vermont and Tokyo, 1974.

attention to the fact that Yoshida Shōin is listed in their indices. But it is significant to note that the most simple and challengeable of all interpretations of Japanese history was fixed in the scholarly mind by the 1950s, namely that, in the mid-nineteenth century, Japan changed rapidly at the instigation of the West from an isolated pre-modern state to a position of advanced international power and prestige, and that many of the leaders of the new Meiji state were at the least contemporaries of a young samurai named Yoshida Shōin, at the most his close companions and students. For the Westerner the problem was how to understand Shōin's pre-eminence in the minds of ordinary Japanese people and historians alike - even acknowledging a temporary over-exposure to his patriotic poems during the war years, and the rapid multiplication of references to Shōin in books and journals. With the publication in 1972 of Beasley's definitive study The Meiji Restoration²⁵ with its thesis that in final analysis the Restoration was the work of "men of talent" whether Court nobles, reforming lords or lower-ranking samurai, the cycle was complete. In the intervening years there had been brilliant specialist studies of men and ideas, and numerous articles in scholarly journals in Western languages. Of these one of the earliest and most deserving of recognition was Dumoulin's "Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859). Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der geistigen Quellen der Meijierneuerung".²⁶ Since then much scholarship has flowed under the bridge. The century between Lanman (1883) and Beasley (1972) has been a rich one for Japanese studies.

25. Beasley, W.G., The Meiji Restoration, Stanford, 1972. The preface indicates the work was the outcome of fifteen years' research.

26. Dumoulin, Heinrich, "Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859). Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der geistigen Quellen der Meijierneuerung", MN I, 1937, pp. 350-377.

i. Restoration Historiography

In 1956 Sakata and Hall noted that "the story of scholarly controversy over the Restoration itself is a chapter in the history of recent Japanese historiography".²⁷ At that time the authors could scarcely have anticipated that thirty years later the same problem of isolating and weighing factors of causation and effect would still be in the forefront of historiographical method, or that arguments over the methodology itself would fill another chapter in the scholarly saga. Identifying the origins or roots of whatever the aspect of immediate concern in contemporary Japanese Studies seems an essential requirement for much recent publication as we have noted. This has not only compounded the problem for researchers but, in its multiplicity of emphases, has added to the confusion by holding up a mirror to changing fashions in scholarship and politics. The same article warns that in seeking for causation we should take care "not to violate the logical consistency between particular events and causal assumptions at high level of abstractions",²⁸ a warning which has not been altogether heeded.²⁹ Such experience and warnings do not, however, absolve us from the responsibility of looking carefully at those causal assumptions which have been of such enthusiastic focus and weighing the significance of their contribution.

This brings us to the case of Yoshida Shōin and his place within the context of Restoration historiography, especially the modernization

27. Sakata Yoshio and Hall, John Whitney, "The Motivation of Political Leadership in the Meiji Restoration", Journal of Asian Studies, XVI, no. 1, November 1956, p. 31.

28. Ibid., p. 33.

29. Najita Tetsuo and Koschman, J. Victor, Conflict in Modern Japanese History, Princeton (N.J.), 1982. "Are not history and synchrony contradictory? Does not the selection of problems and events for synchronic investigation inevitably depend on a prior diachronic sense of what is significant and what is not?", p. 441.

theory. Whatever the diversity of approach and interpretation, there is scholarly unanimity that Yoshida Shōin made a decisive impression on a group of younger Chōshū samurai, a significant number of whom would, shortly afterwards, respond to the challenge of changing circumstances brought about by the intrusion of the West and lead a dramatic structural renovation of the Japanese state now called by historians the Meiji Restoration.

The dramatic events of the Bakumatsu³⁰ period together with the outstanding qualities of leadership shown by that diverse group of young low ranking samurai in their mature years, have drawn the attention of scholars from both Japan and the West more and more deeply into historiographical and philosophical controversy. This process has been aggravated further by the efforts of post-war³¹ historians to explain the speed of Japan's rapid modernization after 1868 and the "economic miracle" of the 1960s, one hundred years later in historical terms. Within this complex of opinion and scholarship, the personality and contribution of the man whose name is referred to so frequently has been overlaid by the interpretation which forces us to go again in search of the real Yoshida Shōin. In addition, there is the oft-repeated Japanese conviction that, in Shōin's life and perceptions in a time of crisis, lie the key to a deeper understanding of the Japanese spirit and historical destiny.

This chapter could well carry a sub-title "Shōin and the Changing Currents of Historical Interpretation" since any examination of

30. Bakumatsu. See Glossary. The exact application of Bakumatsu in historical usage is customarily to the fifteen years, 1853-1868, intervening between the arrival of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry USN at Urakahama in Edo Bay in 1853 and the restoration of executive authority to the Imperial Throne by the fifteenth Tokugawa shōgun, though some scholars date it from 1840.

31. For the purposes of this thesis 'post-war' refers to post World War II, or post Pacific War unless otherwise stated.

Shōin's life inevitably confronts us with the whole range of Restoration historiography and with the historical determinants operating in the final decades of the Tokugawa period. Western scholars have been particularly prone to grasp at obvious links with the familiar, accepting the obvious and familiar as universal truths and hence the only valid explanation of events. The Japanese, for their part, writing of the unusual and adventurous days of "reforming lords and dissenting samurai"³² and their encounter with the intrusive foreigners, are in danger of slipping from reading the events of Bakumatsu as history, into reading the same events as heroic tales. The sensation of vastness of experience linking present with past is overwhelming to Westerner and Japanese alike. The inherent conflicts among the various strands of Shōin's philosophy are all present in the social and political life of late Tokugawa Japan. As Earl comments in his preface to Emperor and Nation in Japan concerning the scope of his own work:

The study proper closes with the death of Yoshida Shōin. This roughly marks the close of the period during which certain concepts were formed and the opening of a period of implementation.³³

It is not necessary at this point to discuss the intellectual currents to which this refers as they are examined in detail later in the thesis.³⁴ It is however, important to draw attention to the footnote to Table 3 which states that Shōin, in both time and thought, stood at the confluence of the Tokugawa Period, a fact which is supported by a scrutiny of listings in that table.

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32. Beasley's felicitous titles of Chapters V and VI in Beasley, op.cit., p. vii.
33. Earl, David Magarey, Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period, Seattle, 1964, p. v.
34. Chapter Four contains a section on Tokugawa Intellectual Movements and their origins and major proponents. See also Table 3, footnote.

When in 1952 van Straelen³⁵ cast Yoshida Shōin in the role of forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, he reflected the dominant historiographical pre-occupation of the early post-war years, namely to find an explanation of Japan's successful nineteenth century modernization processes. In the two decades which followed, a number of detailed and scholarly interpretations were published³⁶ some of which purport to explain the root causes of both the Restoration and the "miracle" of post-war recovery. They varied in emphasis according to the conventions of the time in which they were researched and according to the historical schools to which their proponents belonged - "thick" history, Weberian leadership theories, Marxist dialectic, revolutionary or terrorist dynamic - demonstrating in their combined voluminous output the truth of E.H. Norman's dictum that:

History has never been a straight line nor a simple equation of cause and effect...It is more like a seamless web, in which every thread is somehow connected with every other. It is the fear that at the first touch this delicate tracery might be carelessly torn, which induces in your true historian such anxiety before entering upon his task.³⁷

Many of the Western scholars writing at this time had a prior deep commitment to Japan and Japanese studies either by birth or by wartime

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35. van Straelen, H., Yoshida Shōin, Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, Leiden, 1952.
 36. Norman, E.H., "By Way of a Preface: The Shrine of Clio", translated from Japanese and reprinted in Dower, John W., Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman, New York, 1975, p. 107ff.
 37. In the twenty years between the publication of van Straelen's monograph and Beasley, W.G., The Meiji Restoration in 1972, survey and specialist studies on Japan are too numerous to be listed here. It should be noted, however, that two publications which influenced the international field of scholarship on Japan by opening it to a new generation of scholars, were Tsunoda, de Bary *et al.* (eds), Sources of Japanese Tradition (1958) and A History of East Asian Civilization (1958); Vol. I, East Asia: The Great Transformation, written by Edwin O. Reischauer, John K. Fairbank, and Albert M. Craig. In the same period, Sir George Sansom, whose Japan, A Short Cultural History (1937) had been revised and reprinted in 1943, completed his definitive study, A History of Japan in three volumes, Vol. I to 1334, Vol. II 1334-1615, and Vol. III, 1615-1867.

and occupation experience, while their Japanese counterparts, freed at last from cumbersome censorship on imperial and military studies, were now able to apply their research potential to matters of deep national importance.³⁸ Their cumulative writings also present a formidable body of scholarship which must be assimilated before any advances in research may be plotted, let alone carried to a successful conclusion. Since much of the thesis which follows devolves upon a careful scrutiny of men and affairs in the period preceding the Meiji Restoration, we must examine the widespread use of the term "modernization" as an index for evaluation of the radical transformation of the state, society and the economy associated with this event. The first major interpretive issue presented by Shōin-related historiography has therefore been the meaning and application of the concept "modernization". It is however essential to remember that as a criterion for such examination modernization is of relatively recent origin, since it gained common currency after a conference of specialists and scholars meeting at Hakone in 1960.³⁹ Thereafter this association of the concept of modernization with the Meiji Restoration, capably verbalized by well established American scholars, took hold of Western scholarship. Universally acceptable moreover, by

38. Sakamoto Tarō, "Historical Research in Japan". Japan Quarterly, Vol. II, no. 2, April-June 1955, pp. 235-246.

39. Association of Asian Studies Conference, Hakone 1960. Two years prior to this Hakone meeting, in the Fall of 1958, a conference on Modern Japan was held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A. This extended seminar brought together in a systematic fashion "the result of the variegated and intensive studies of Japan" which had appeared since the end of the Pacific War. It was in the course of these seminar papers that the word "modernization" occurred frequently. At Hakone the subject of "modernization in the abstract" was not itself the major concern but in the consultations and the series of five volumes which resulted, conceptual problems were the focal point of nearly all published papers. John Whitney Hall discusses these issues in his foreword to Changing Attitudes to Modernization. ed. Marius B. Jansen, Princeton University Press, 1968, the first volume in the series.

reason of its integration into the pre-occupation of the 1960s with developmental politics, it yielded a wealth of new ideas about the late Tokugawa period. Paradoxically it was only as modernization and westernization became synonymous as the motive and goal of the Meiji Restoration, and "Japan's Modern Century"⁴⁰ began to take pride of place in school history syllabuses, that a general uneasiness emerged amongst the scholars who had embraced its usage. The examination of a moment in history so significant as the entry of a nation onto the stage of international politics, wearing a complete change of costume and dancing to a seemingly radical tune, could not be down-played by relating the events to a single conceptual continuum - back into the historical origins and forward to the transformed future. To do this would ultimately defeat any claim of objectivity, and influence selection and organization of subsequent events. It would also assume the need for prior and educated judgment by men in authority to identify a model and emulate it, when due to the prevailing circumstances neither the men nor the means of evaluating the selected model were necessarily available. Such revolutionary ability and where it was lodged, and the reciprocal importance of foreign and domestic factors in the final outcome of what became known as the "Restoration Debate", gradually out-faced arguments for this theory.

Western historical interpretation, which was only a point of debate in the mid-1970s, had been anticipated in Japanese historical thinking. With the exception of a limited number of members of the Marxist historical clique who had a strong foothold in most prestigious university history departments,⁴¹ and despite their not inconsiderable

40. Borton, Hugh, Japan's Modern Century, New York, 1955.

41. Significantly neither Tokyo nor Kyoto Universities had history staff members of Marxist conviction in any numbers at that time.

persuasive powers, Japanese attitudes to the modernization theme have been entirely negative. Modernization, as they so defined it, has either failed or is still in the process of being implemented,⁴² a view clearly stated and consistently upheld by Matsumoto Sannosuke in his balanced social commentary Kindai Nihon no Chiteki Jōkyō.⁴³ Throughout this three volume work Matsumoto persistently states that at the moment of Meiji Restoration, Japan embarked on a course in which the highly abstract neo-Confucian cosmological system was replaced by an empirical and rational world view, grounded in the reality of the moment, but deriving direction from the response of its own internal dynamic to the perceived circumstances. He could have been commenting on Shōin's own response to the circumstances of the 1850s. What is of importance to the argument is the rejection by many of the best known Japanese scholars of the empirical approach to historical interpretation. They challenge the efforts of foreign scholars to analyse Japan and "Things Japanese" in an objective and impartial fashion, to devise value-free criteria of judgment, and dismiss the undeniable success of much of Western historiography as of little account. Emotional involvement rather than clinical detachment, Matsumoto avers, is necessary for a true understanding of the Japanese historical processes.⁴⁴ He doubts that the implementation of values of the Enlightenment which followed the Restoration under the popular catch-cry "Bunka Bummei" (Civilization and Enlightenment)⁴⁵

42. Wakabayashi, Robert T., "Matsumoto Sannosuke, Kindai Nihon no Chiteki Jōkyō, Japan Interpreter, Vol. IX, no. 3, Winter, 1975, p. 381.

43. Matsumoto, Sannosuke, Kindai Nihon no Chiteki Jōkyō, Tokyo, 1974, p. 248.

44. Op.cit., Wakabayashi, p. 381.

45. Fukuzawa, Yukichi, An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation. Translated by David A. Dilworth and A. Cameron Hurst, Tokyo, 1973 and Fukuzawa, Yukichi, Autobiography. Translated by E. Kiyo'oka Eichi, Tokyo, 1934. Both these titles deal extensively with the philosophy of the Japanese Enlightenment which peaked in the 1880s.

could make them better off, more secure, happier than they were under the bakuhan system. If we are not entirely convinced that Matsumoto's argument does little more than pinpoint some of the harmful aspects of the modernization theory as propounded by Western scholars, his approach is at least a reminder that modern institutions and government, as well as scientific modes of thought, exist in the final count only to implement the liberation of all individuals within the societal framework. This he sees as the very essence, the inner, the original spirit (shoshin 初心) of democracy and its external concomitant, modernity, which was ultimately what the Meiji Restoration set out to accomplish.⁴⁶

ii. The Search for Continuity

None of these arguments absolves us from the necessity of seeking the antecedents of the post-Restoration state by close examination of the Tokugawa period. Rather we are admonished to be less rigorous in our categorization, less fervent in our perceptions of an event as separate from a careful narration of the event itself and more willing to accept the fact that acknowledgment of Japanese sense of identity and uniqueness does not necessarily imply an undesirable value judgment.

Modern scholarship is more than justified in its endeavours to unseat such popularly-held stereotypes that "Japan before Perry" was in a state of incipient decay, that its society was formalized

46. It is well not to become involved in the perennial argument "What is 'modernization'?", and in the interests of a well-balanced approach, not to beg the question raised by the Weberian interpretation that one possible way to indicate the boundaries of modernization, is to say that it involves the sustained, systematic and purposeful application of human energies to the national control of man's social and physical environment. "All aspects of the modern process such as bureaucratization, mechanization, secularization, industrialization could be subsumed under Weber's concept", writes John Whitney Hall in Changing Attitudes to Modernization, op.cit., p. 22, quoting from Benjamin Schwartz, unpublished Conference Paper, Hakone, 1960.

stultified, immovable and repressive in contradistinction to that of the dynamic Western nations.⁴⁷ Such stereotypes developed early, built on letters and reports of the first resident Europeans entering Japan in the wake of the Kanagawa Treaties (1854) of which the journals of U.S. Consul Townsend Harris are typical. He recorded in his journal entry of September 1, 1856, six days before he hoisted his flag for the first time, that,

The people are of a genial disposition and are evidently inclined towards intercourse with foreigners, but the despotic rule of the country, and the terror they have of their so-called *inflexible* laws, forbids them to express their wishes.⁴⁸

The historian while deploring such premature judgment and half-truths cannot, however, evade the incontrovertible fact that in late Tokugawa times a radical change in expectations of government and society was taking place. Changing attitudes indicates the inevitability of changes in structures in order to meet not only the social and economic crisis but the political challenges. It was the atmosphere of danger and urgency generated by the increasing Western presence in Japanese waters (Table I) which controlled the time and speed of the change since the form had already been set by internal forces. The Tokugawa Bakufu in mid-nineteenth century was neither decadent nor corrupt: it was merely structurally and philosophically incapable of solving the problems of a nation in crisis with the administrative

47. Hall, John W., "Feudalism in Japan", and "The New Look of Tokugawa History", in Hall, John Whitney and Jansen, Marius B. (eds), Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan, Princeton, N.J., 1968, pp. 15-64, skilfully refutes such stereotypes.

48. Cosenza, Mario E. (ed.), The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris, Vermont and Tokyo, Tuttle edn, 1968, p. 222.
The first U.S. Consul to Japan Townsend Harris (1804-1878) was commissioned on September 1, 1855 in Washington D.C., and resident in Shimoda from 1856-1859. He negotiated the Convention of Shimoda between the United States and Japan, concluded on June 17, 1857 and it was ratified by U.S. President on June 30, 1858.

facilities set down in the seventeenth century.

The major concern of this thesis is the intervention into these historical processes of certain men, notably Shōin, and their ideas, because arguably ideas of themselves have no power to change society or mould events.⁴⁹ Since no man creates his thought in isolation and a thought has no existence outside a man's physical limitations, motivation for action must release thought in society. The heterodox intellectual currents whose progenitor was paradoxically the official philosophy of state, Chu Hsi Confucianism as laid down by the scholars of the House of Hayashi at Tokugawa Ieyasu's bidding in the early decades of the Tokugawa period,⁵⁰ both released the forces for change and created change themselves. The changes when they came were fundamental yet they could take place only as the result of a revised interpretation of the place of the Japanese polity, with its own peculiar sense of unique destiny, in the newly perceived international context, and not as the outcome of economic or urban pressure or the demands of malcontents. When the Tokugawa Shogun Keiki presented his official resignation to the young Emperor in Nijōjō in Kyoto in 1867, whether or not the Tokugawa Bakufu had fallen into decay was of less significance than the consequence that it was unable to fulfil its primary charter as *sei-i-tai shōgun* or barbarian-quelling general.⁵¹ Had the rising national consciousness, so extensively discussed by

49. See Jansen, Marius, B., "On Studying Modernization" in Asian Cultural Studies 3, ICU Pub. IIIA, October 1962, pp. 46-48.

50. de Bary *et al.* (eds), Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. I, Section 2, Ch. XVI. "The official School: Three Generations of the Hayashi family", pp. 341-352.

51. This title was conferred in the first instance by the Imperial Person on Minamoto-no-Yoritomo in 1192 after his successful military campaign to establish hegemony over the House of Taira and other non-aligned lords, thereby setting up a military government in Kamakura. Yoritomo was charged with responsibility of preserving the peace on all counts, including the defence of border lands to the north of Kantō region.

the doyen of contemporary Japanese political scientists, Maruyama Masao,⁵² whose writings became the frame of reference for intellectual historians, not been already a recognizable component in the thought of the Tokugawa intelligentsia of the *Kokugakusha*,⁵³ the form of the modern state would have been very different from that which we recognize as Japan today.

It is useful in the context of this refutation of modernization theories to return for a moment to the Hakone Conference. The original seven-point description of a modern society hammered out on a basis of Almond and Coleman's study, Politics of Developing Areas and amended by a Japanese scholar, Nakano Tadashi, nominates seven main criteria of modernization which are listed here for convenience.

- i. A comparatively high concentration of population in cities and the increasingly urban-centredness of the total society;
- ii. A relatively high degree in the use of inanimate energy, the widespread circulation of commodities and the growth of service facilities;
- iii. The extension of spatial interaction of members of society and the widespread participation of such members in economic and political affairs.
- iv. Widespread literacy accompanied by the spread of secular, and increasingly scientific orientation of an individual to his environment;
- v. An extensive and penetrative network of mass communication;

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52. Maruyama Masao, trans. Mikiso Hane, Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan, Tokyo, 1974. Part III, "The Premodern Formation of Nationalism", pp. 323-367. Maruyama points out that: ...The political force that was to solve the domestic disunity and anarchic chaos produced when the arrival of foreign vessels sapped the bakufu's authority was not to arise from the common people...The political reforms of the Restoration of Imperial Rule were put into effect under the leadership of extremist court nobles, lower class samurai, and some elements of the upper strata of the common people.
53. See Glossary. Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) was the most outstanding of these scholars and his redefinition of the relationship between Emperor and subject crystallized the *sonnō* philosophy (Revere the Emperor) which was to become the catch-cry of loyalists in the Bakumatsu. His philosophy was further expanded by Hirata Atsutane and formalized by the scholars of Mito School.

- vi. The existence of large scale social institutions, such as government, business, industry and the increasingly bureaucratic organization of such institutions;
- vii. Increased unification of large bodies of population under one control (nations) and growing interaction of such units (international relations).⁵⁴

With certain significant reservation as in (iii) namely, "widespread participation" in political affairs, and given the limitations of the method and conceptual vocabulary, in all save the last most important element of internationalism, Japan by these criteria, in late Tokugawa times, was a modern society. This is a healthy corrective to our Western-orientated interpretation of the Meiji Restoration, even if we are unable to support the conviction of many Japanese scholars that the modern period begins with the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600.⁵⁵

In review it may be said that while acknowledging the contribution of the modernization theory to an understanding of the men and processes of the Restoration, it is essential to bear in mind that this theory is very much the child of one, albeit influential, period of historiography. More and more specialized studies appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, bearing the hallmark of the social pre-occupations of those later decades such as charismatic leadership, student radicalism, self-inflicted death and the persuasive arguments concerning the role of lower-ranking samurai which they shared. Not only were scholars more aware of the danger to their theories of time-lag in publication⁵⁶ but there was increasing evidence of a "common discomfort"

54. Op.cit., Jansen. The theoretical basis for these criteria was Almond and Coleman, Politics of Developing Areas, Princeton, N.J., 1960, explicated on p. 52, and modified by conference discussion and the advice of Nakano Tadashi, pp. 18-20.

55. At this battle of Sekigahara the Tokugawa Ieyasu overcame a coalition of daimyo primarily from the West and South-west of Japan to attain military and political hegemony over the nation, thus establishing peace and unity which lasted nearly 250 years, the *Tenka Taihei*.

56. Najita Tetsuo and Scheiner, Irwin, Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, Chicago and London, 1978, p. xii.

that previously acceptable theories, particularly modernization, had been ineffectual in probing deeply into Tokugawa intellectual history⁵⁷ and we might add, into that of the Bakumatsu and early Meiji periods. This was in part because modernization as a conceptual strategy for the study of Tokugawa history, in its crudest form is no more than a rehabilitation of evolutionism as Najita and Scheiner point out.⁵⁸

iii. 'Grass-Roots' Historiography

It is interesting to note at this juncture that E.O. Reischauer⁵⁹ gave impetus to the modernization debate by entering into public dialogue with the famous economist Nakayama Ichiro on the question of the continuity of pre- and post-war Japan.⁶⁰ He refused, possibly on grounds of diplomacy, to accept that the Pacific War had caused any real discontinuity in Japan's historical progress. Reischauer gave it as his considered opinion that Japan was the only example in the non-Western world of a nation which had successfully speeded up the modernization processes by adopting Western models, an attitude

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57. This accounts for the appearance of a cluster of books published in the 1970s which clearly indicate a fresh approach, viz." Craig, Albert M., and Shively, Donald H., Personality in Japanese History (1970), in which nine of the fifteen chapters concentrate on Tokugawa or early Meiji subjects; Lifton, Robert Jay, Katō Shūichi, Reich, Michael R., Six Lives, Six Deaths (1979); Morris, Ivan, The Nobility of Failure (1970); Murakami, Hyoe and Harper, Thomas J., Great Historical Figures of Japan (1978); Ooms, Herman, Charismatic Bureaucrat: A Political Biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) (1975).
58. Najita and Scheiner, op.cit., p. xii.
59. Emeritus Professor Edwin O. Reischauer of the Dept. of East Asian Civilizations, Harvard University, doyen of Japanese Historical Studies to a number of generations of students and adviser to American presidents on Asian affairs, was born in Japan of missionary parents. He served briefly as U.S. Ambassador to Japan between 1961 and 1965.
60. This dialogue was published in the form of an article in the prestigious cultural journal Chuō Koron, September 1961, creating much interest on both sides of the Pacific.

not acceptable to a number of Japanese intellectuals who still strongly supported a theory based on a belief in Japan's original initiative in ending the Seclusion policy in the mid-nineteenth century.

The issue concerning the unsuitability of concepts and standards which had evolved out of the Western experience when applied to Japanese circumstances, was taken up vigorously during the next decade by several highly respected Japanese historians and sociologists. Irokawa Daikichi linked it with one of the chief pre-occupations of public concern in the seventies, that of national self-awareness or what it means to be Japanese, believing it to be evidence of the incapable nature of the input of the ordinary people of Japan into their own history and culture compared with the strong elitist pre-occupation of much historiography. In his more substantial work Meiji no Bunka⁶¹ Irokawa mounts a logical exposition of those features of Japan's history, culture and environment which he believes have accounted for this sustained sense of uniqueness, leaving the flights of rhetoric to lighten his newspaper and journal articles. Since both the question of "grass-roots people" and a return to the historical roots of Japanese culture was at the core of much of Shōin's writings, in this he was in the direct line of philosophers of the Kokugaku stream, most notably Motoori Norinaga its most brilliant advocate.⁶²

61. Irokawa Daikichi, "Japan's Grass-roots Tradition - Current Issues in the Mirror of History", in JQ, XXI, Jan-Mar. 1973, pp. 78-80.

62. Motoori Norinaga made his most lasting contribution to Japanese thought with his commentaries on ancient Japanese texts and philological studies which brought the white light of critical reason to bear on early writings such as *Kōjiki* and *Genji Monogatari*. "The True Way is one and the same, in every country and throughout heaven and earth" cited in de Bary, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 15. But he also strove to understand the unique relationship between man and nature characterized by the phrase *mono no aware* best translated *lacrime rerum*, an idea difficult to convey in English, but rendered more smoothly in Latin. See also Table 4.

In the Tokugawa period the search for a national identity through the rediscovery of indigenous traditions was eagerly pursued by successive generations of scholars, with the unbroken lineage of the Imperial House emerging as the focus of concentration. Irokawa believes that this was less a nostalgic hearkening back to the past than a reaffirmation of the uniqueness and particularism of Japan's special organization of which the Imperial family was the core, and if one presses the concept further, which the Tokugawa Bakufu with its delicately balanced recreation of feudal (*hōken*) relationships between itself and two hundred and sixty regional units, activated. Despite this feudal basis and its implications of local autonomy, the Bakufu established a total control through a centralized administration. It is now widely accepted that, in the dynamic tension which existed between the regional autonomy and this centralized bureaucracy, lay the potential for growth which marked the first hundred years of the period when political, social and economic institutions were being regularized. The Tokugawa 'web of government' was responsible for the ensuing balance which provided the durability. It was only in the final decades of the Tokugawa peace that there emerged a growing awareness that the well-being of one's own domain was not, as Totman points out, "coterminous with the well-being of all domains".⁶³ Only in the 1840s are there signs of national and domanical ethnicity appearing as "active motivational factors in political behaviour",⁶⁴ dependent perhaps on the fact that in the atmosphere of the Tempō reforms in the 1830s and 1840s, domestic issues were more widely and continuously alarming than external ones. This argument has direct relevance

63. Totman, Conrad, "Ethnicity in the Meiji Restoration", MN XXXVII, no. 3, 1982, p. 281.

64. Ibid.

to the Chōshū situation in the early years of Bakumatsu when Shōin was immersed in the political scene. Totman believes that the old ideals of the *hōken*⁶⁵ system remained basic, and bi-level ethnicity maintained until 1857.⁶⁶ If we accept that position, its corollary that a confused state of transition exhibiting "multiple complexities"⁶⁷ prevailed between 1858 and 1864, applies directly to the last year in Shōin's life. High ranking officials tried to work through their domains to shape national policy⁶⁸ but were faced with the incongruency of national and domanial interests.⁶⁹ One could reasonably add, that lesser ranking samurai such as Shōin and his Shōka Sonjuku students, excluded from the decision-making processes by reason of status, unable to affect policy by the traditional method of admonition and action through their han, engaged in increasingly unsanctioned activities. Shōin did not live long enough to work through to the philosophy which guided the makers of the Meiji Restoration, that is, that in the final count, a unified system was imperative for national survival.

Irokawa may not have been prepared to push his theories this far. However something of the urgency of the debate in which he was one of the most enthusiastic participants, and his earnest injunction to look well at 'grass-roots history',⁷⁰ has relevance in the 1980s. Once past the surface manifestations of historiographical fashion and contemporary folk loricist enthusiasm, questions dogging Japanese

65. *hōken*: feudal, pre-modern; also conservative.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*, p. 284. This was the particular dilemma of the Chōshū ruling faction in 1858-9 and their uncompromising stand over Shōin's increasing importunities. See further *infra*, Chapter Two, vi.

69. Totman uses the term *gunken*, province/prefecture, as marking the period.

70. Irokawa's favourite expression.

historians today may be qualitatively different from pre-Restoration arguments of national tradition versus Western civilization, but they are indication of the same urge towards the rediscovery of the 'Genuine Japan'.⁷¹ Moreover, the issues thus raised concerning *shishi* from tozama han, 'grass roots' heroes and *kokutai* belong not only to this study of Yoshida Shōin, but to one of the most persistent themes of Japanese history, localism versus centralism.⁷²

Irokawa places much emphasis on the fact that until the late Meiji period Japan was an agriculturally based society, largely involved in rice growing. An acceptable working proportion of rural as against other social strata in Tokugawa times is usually given as eighty-three percent. This means that most people lived in or were closely associated with communities whose organization and administrative structures derived from that agricultural experience, though there were increasingly significant concentrations of population in the great urban centres of Edo, Osaka and Kyoto.⁷³ The primary concerns of a large percentage of the population, therefore, did not coincide with either those of the intellectual samurai elite who were systematically divorced from their land bases during the course of two hundred years, nor with those of the governing elite of modern times.⁷⁴ Yet it is on these two elites that many scholars, both foreign and Japanese, have concentrated their attention, thereby

71. Irokawa, *JQ*, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

72. Totman defines this basically as 'ethnicity'.

73. By 1800 there were also large areas of urban life in which differentiation between the contribution of samurai (as attached to the *jōkamachi* (castletown) bureaucracy and non-samurai such as the *chōnin* (townspeople, merchants)) was difficult. They merged into an urban culture but one as full of duty as that of the samurai.

74. Pyle, Kenneth B., *The New Generation in Meiji: Problems of Cultural Identity 1885-1895*, Stanford, 1969, Ch. 6. "In Search of Moral Surety", pp. 118-143 and Ch. 7, "The Search for a National Mission", pp. 144-162.

consciously or unconsciously evading such major issues of Japanese history as we have been discussing. There was some justification in Irokawa's emphasis on the need for change in what he called 'value priorities'.⁷⁵ A somewhat similar plea for a re-establishment of a more balanced relationship between man, nature and history lay behind much of late Tokugawa thinking and was ultimately encapsulated in the slogan 'Eastern Ethics: Western Science',⁷⁶ when Japan was confronted with the culture and civilization of the West. Shōin, as a samurai of low income in a proudly autonomous tōzama domain, is directly in the continuum of the Japanese historical experience.

Miwa Kimitada's persuasive thesis that modern Japan was formed by the rejection and suppression of localism⁷⁷ demands some consideration at this point since it illuminates aspects of the relationship between Chōshū, being a prestigious distant or separated domain, and the Bakufu the central, powerful executive seat of government. At a time in national history when unity was the supreme requirement, Shōin insinuated himself into the area of tension which existed between them. Miwa's thesis explains more convincingly than many theories about Shōin's feudal loyalty or, conversely, his modern radical convictions, the reason why he acted as he did, in fact why he, a low ranking tōzama samurai acted at all.⁷⁸ In his use of the word 'localism' (*chihōshugi*), Miwa is referring to the aspirations of a particular region within a sovereign state to attain political autonomy and to enhance

75. Irokawa, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

76. Sakuma Shōzan's slogan to indicate the problem of balance between Western scientific knowledge associated with the Dutch establishment and traditional Tokugawa values.

77. Miwa Kimitada: "The Rejection of Localism: An Origin of Ultrationalism in Japan", *J.I.*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Spring 1974, pp. 68-79, originally "Chihōshugi o hajioshita Nihon Kindai, Chōkakka-shugi no yūrai" in *Jōchi Daigaku Gaikokugo Gakubu Kyō*, No. 8, 1973, pp. 143-156.

78. See Chapter Two, vi.

a unique local culture against what he calls the "centripetal force of political centralization".⁷⁹ Such aspirations, derived from a shared ethnic consciousness and historical experience as Irokawa and Totman have indicated, was equally so in Tokugawa times, especially in the western tōzama han. For instance, it was never necessary for the Mōri of Chōshū to argue for, or defend their political autonomy, or their strong sentiments of localism because they had never relinquished them under the terms of Tokugawa Ieyasu's original establishment. As tōzama and men of power, their position within the Tokugawa hegemony had always been unchallenged by the Bakufu, their contribution to the balance of relations in the Tokugawa state acceptable, the primacy of their loyalty to the Imperial House reinforcing rather than negating it.

Localism, neither then nor in the modern period, ever provided a political alternative: the very nature of its foundation in the investigation of local particularities, verification of theories of origins, and myths and legends, was ideologically incompatible with the emperor system itself.⁸⁰ In the Tokugawa period, some persistent communal illusion of togetherness, an acceptance of the fictional homogeneity of the Japanese 'family' supported by myths and legends of creation embodied in Shintō,⁸¹ steered Chōshū away from any acknowledgment or political realization of the differences existing between the domain and the Tokugawa administration in Edo. An attempt by a distant domain to revolt against, or even seek to gain control over the central institutions of state, was unthinkable, however twentieth century revolutionist historians may argue. Chōshū's deep-felt

79. Miwa, *Ji*, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

80. Miwa, *JQ*, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-71, *passim*.

81. *Kōjiki* (A.D. 712) and *Nihongi* (A.D. 720). Both works contain many points of reference for this statement.

aversion to the Bakufu's solution to the crisis confronting the nation in the 1850s was grounded not so much on aspirations towards central greatness for itself, as upon the traditional, philosophical necessity to express fully the 'mind of the Emperor' and to be his instrument. The finest expression of this philosophy is Shōin's own statement:

I am a vessel of the Mōri family and accordingly it is my place to exert myself day and night in the Mōri service. The Mōri family are vassals of the Emperor and accordingly it is their place to serve... 82

Shoin's steady support of the Bakufu as an institution in the years between 1853 and 1858 and his failure to criticize the administration as such or condemn its policies, becomes more understandable in Miwa's terms.⁸³ Miwa quotes Matsumoto Ken'ichi's psychological theories on the nurturing of revolutionary spirit in remote island communities.⁸⁴ The individual looking towards the capital from a distant island or frontier, experiences two conflicting inclinations, one an attraction towards the centre and the other a strong desire for independence. The sense of alienation which often results from the resolution of tension between these extremes, may often appear in an outstanding personality in the form of egocentrism; similarly, affection and loyalty on the part of a region may appear in the form of a political bid to supersede the central agency, to identify the nation with a province, rather than the other way round. It takes only a passing knowledge of Shōin's life and times⁸⁵ to identify in him and his compatriots of Chōshū han, such conflicting

82. YSZ VIII:410. Shōin to Mōkurin, Sept. 1856, cited in Earl, op.cit., p. 202.

83. Taigiwo Gisu bitterly criticizes the failure of loyalty of the person, either lord or shogun. Only after the Yōgasaku Affair (1859) does he talk in destructive terms.

84. Miwa, op.cit., p. 72, cites Matsumoto Ken'ichi, Kotō-Konmyūn-ron (1972), p. 136.

85. Chronological Table I.

experiences. His passionate sense of separateness, pride in his village, castletown, domain, were for Shōin associated with the centripetal forces at work both overtly, as in such mechanisms as the sankin-kōtai system, and covertly, in the Confucian philosophy of state. These provided underlying rationale to much of his writing and teaching. As with most theories they may be extended *in absurdum*, and on the basis of a careful analysis of Shōin's writings and examination of his activities within the present prescription, to subscribe to the extension of the theory in terms of personality consummated in revolutionary action. There is, in Shōin's thought and activities in the last year of his life, ample evidence of desperate disillusionment, an impatience with structural forms. There is also an eager attempt to understand and manipulate the institutions provided by the Tokugawa state, to be involved, even hope eventually to resist and dominate them. But if the Imperial Institution is the heart and focus of the nation, then the whole purpose of Shōin's life, his travels, his writing, his teaching is to maintain its integrity; there is no alienation from the centre as Shōin defines it. One could venture the opinion that Shōin did not live long enough into the final stages of disintegration of the Bakufu to pursue his objectives fully.

Within the interstices of Miwa's presentation of Matsumoto's theories, there is accommodation for some of the better known historiographical concepts, that of the economic historian, for example, or the Marxist, who in their pre-occupation with the common people and the fields which they till, have no need of Irokawa's injunction to look well at the 'grass-roots' history. The modern revolutionist, also, of whom Huber springs most readily to mind, in searching for an alternative to the continuity theme, concentrates on the tension in the countryside and among lower ranking samurai, for evidence to support his

theories. Huber, unable to establish satisfactorily the revolutionary origins of modern Japan⁸⁶ in the samurai class, himself called into being another class he called "disaffected service intelligentsia". This 'class', transcending Tokugawa status categories, drew on peasants to fill out his model; in other words he set out to prove what was, with what was not - an interclass revolutionary sub-structure. What he did prove historiographically was that his restated theory of negative sentiments in terms of class ignored the fact that analysis in terms of schools, bureaucratic cliques, military groups and political factions⁸⁷ is essential to a balanced interpretation of Bakumatsu. Indirectly these arguments lie within issues of localism.

This consideration of localism and regionalism within the broader concept of national history, Yanagita Kunio, born 1875, dismissed as too theoretical for a full understanding of the depths of the ordinary man's relationship with his environment and the world of *kami*. Those who were over-eager to import Western ways of thinking should be warned of its inadequacy as an interpretive tool for exploring the origins of modern Japan. To Yanagita modernization was not necessarily westernization; for him the world of folk lore was a living reality "more deeply rooted than the superficial world of Meiji modernization".⁸⁸ 'Folk life', his mode of describing the issues discussed above in terms of localism and regional patriotism, was not an isolated, sporadic existence divorced from the realities of modern city life. Both were part of the organic whole, rooted in the

86. Huber, op.cit., being the title of his book, published in 1981.

87. Albert Craig's categorization. See Craig, A.M., Review, Journal of JS, vol. 9-1, Winter 1983, pp. 139-149. Huber, Thomas M., The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1981. "We might note that although based on class this interpretation is not Marxist. The 'service intelligentsia'...represents neither a feudal class nor an urban bourgeoisie or class of rural manufacturers", p. 140.

88. Yanagita Kunio, 1875-1962. Takayanagi Shun'ichi, "In Search of Yanagita Kunio", MN XXVI, no. 2, Summer 1976, p. 174.

'genuine' Japan, the basis of the national identity, *Kokutai*, theories of special application to the evolvement of Shōin's theories of self and nation.

Yanagita served interpretive scholarship well but at this point he brings us close to the question of revival of old myths and legends as an integral part of national identity, a thorny problem which contemporary historians tend to avoid. Myths,⁸⁹ however, in the consideration of social anthropologists, are far from self-condemnatory. They reflect experiences, express convictions or, according to the basic dictionary definition, "provide answers to broad and basically unanswerable questions, in other words embody popular ideas on natural phenomena".⁹⁰ Such myths are probably individual in conception, perhaps tribal in original acceptance, but in their contemporary form, tend to be presented as universally acceptable. There is an excellent illustration of this in the almost eschatological representation of Shōin's life and works presented in the Yoshida Shōin Historical Museum at Hagi to which reference has already been made. Yet Shōin is far from being a myth, though the legend "Japan is winning: Shōin is still alive"⁹¹ could not be more blatantly persuasive in its intent. Shōin lived in the midst of the reality, not the theory, of the dilemma, when philosophical argument on origins of the nation and its uniqueness were being tested within the context and presence of the Western barbarians. A whole new perspective of objective existence is thus given to the answer. From a study of his life and philosophy

89. Concise Oxford Dictionary.

90. Myths and Legends and their role in contemporary society were extensively examined at The Myths and Legends Conference held at Australian National University, Canberra, June 1980. The Conference agenda was previewed in a Research Conference Pamphlet, Oct/Nov. 1979, A.N.U. Press, A.C.T.

91. This is the subtitle of the popular cult book, op.cit., Tsuzuki (Suzuki) Wataru, Shōin Yoshida and the Modern World Situation, 1980.

projected into the teachings at the Shōka Sonjuku it is possible to gain more understanding of the debate than is vouchsafed to scholars lost in historiographical argument.

iv. The 'Fear' Stereotype

Heretofore in the discussion of continuity and perceptions of Japan's unique qualities, no attempt has been made to place in similar perspective the less favoured but frequently advanced argument that Japan was 'opened' in mid-nineteenth century primarily by fear, fear of the superior military power of the West, fear of inadequacy in foreign diplomatic encounter, fear that what had happened in China, Japan might also be forced to endure.⁹² Nor did the reportage by members of early British and American expeditions do anything but reinforce the later perceptions that the "strangely-skirted"⁹³ little men were open-mouthed in astonishment at the resplendent materialism and technological appurtenances of Western culture and civilization. In short, the 'fear' stereotype interpretation of causation would have us believe that the Japanese were so hypnotised by their exposure to the West that they drastically changed their *modus operandi*. Thereafter they ceased to apply those selective and adaptive processes which historically had been well proven over twelve hundred years.

Such arguments based on the artificially created premise of the superiority of Western civilization and its palpable desirability for all men, clouded the real issues of the delicate balance existing between internal pressures for change and the external forces. Sir George

92. The defeat of China - The Central Kingdom - at the hands of the British in the Opium War in 1842 and the humiliating Treaty of Nanking which followed were well reported in Japan, as also the French and British success in 1858.

93. This reaction to the *hakama* or formal wide over-trousers of the samurai common in literature of the time.

Sansom's memorable work The Western World and Japan⁹⁴ published at the watershed of scholarship on Japan at the end of the Pacific War, did much to redress the balance. On the Japanese side, Toyama Shigeki gave the debate a more positive approach and broader perspective with the publication of Meiji ishin to gendai⁹⁵ in 1969. He turned the arguments towards the problem of why under almost identical pressures from the West in the first half of the nineteenth century, Japan maintained a large measure of independence and national autonomy, eventually gaining the status as a world power, while China deteriorated into a state of semi-colonial dependency and finally national disintegration. This debate has not yet been fully resolved.

v. Individualists and Revolutionists

Craig introduces the section on perspectives in personality in Japanese history by saying that personality is a major dimension of history.⁹⁶ If consideration of the factor of personality is neglected "there are many historical phenomena in Japan that we cannot understand".⁹⁷ E.O. Reischauer in the 1960s was fond of talking about the "facelessness" of Japanese history, of Japanese personalities and the few name references included in standard Western histories of East Asia. Scholars writing specialist studies in the same period rarely treated the fact of personality other than lightly, preferring to see Shōin as a case history to prove a theory of modernization, or as the vehicle of expression of a philosophy or movement. Since the focus of

94. Sansom, George B., The Western World and Japan, Vintage Books, New York, 1973, first published Knopf, New York, 1949, reinforced the scholarly works by C.R. Boxer on the first encounter with the West in the form of Portuguese and Dutch contact through Kyushu, during the so-called 'Christian Century' (1542-1636).

95. Toyama Shigeki, Meiji ishin to gendai ("The Meiji Restoration and Modern Times"), Tokyo, 1969.

96. Craig, Albert M. and Shively, Donald H. (eds), Personality in Japanese History, Berkeley, 1970, p. 1.

97. As noted above his own contribution to such projects as East Asia: Tradition and Modernization was significant in changing this attitude

this thesis is the life and thought of this one man in his temporal and spatial context, some limited reference should be made to the problems of definition encountered by scholars working in the field of personality studies in the last twenty years. In respect of Shōin, to call it biographical writing is largely invalid because no final picture of the man in his times is left with us. It is more his thought which is substantive, his humanity yielding to the exigencies of disputation and the edges of his character delineation becoming blurred in the process. Ooms avoids these pitfalls in his sympathetic albeit sharp venture in psycho-historical studies with his study of Matsudaira Sadanobu.⁹⁸ Others are not so sure-footed.

Bellah, the widely acclaimed theorist of modernization, in his work on values of pre-industrial Japan,⁹⁹ supports his theories with an intimate examination of the writings of two carefully selected personages. He demonstrates his belief in a strong polarization of ideas or "formulae" in the Tokugawa political and social order by contrasting the negative effect of Ogyū's¹⁰⁰ "conceptual consciousness" with the more positive and creative "symbolic consciousness" of Ishida Baigan, the philosopher of the merchant bankers and townspeople of eighteenth century Tokugawa society. Earl in Emperor and Nation broke new ground in analysis of political attitudes in the Tokugawa period with his interpretation of imperial loyalist theories through concentrating on the life and thought of one man, Yoshida Shōin.¹⁰¹ Shōin,

98. Ooms, Herman, Charismatic Bureaucrat: A Political Biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1820), Chicago, 1975.

99. Bellah, Robert N., Tokugawa Religion - the Values of pre-Industrial Society, Glencoe Press. Bellah brings his considerable weight as a sociologist to bear on an historical problem by way of the minds of scholars whose works are available to us.

100. Ogyū Sōrai (1666-1728); Ishida Baigan (1685-1744).

101. Earl, D. Magarey, Emperor and Nation in Japan: Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa Period, Seattle 1964, pp. 109-111. He used Yamaga Sokō and Yamazaki Ansai as 'controls' in Part I.

he asserts, is the ultimate example of the application of loyalist and patriotic theories at a time when the whole basis and role of the Bakufu, or Tokugawa shogunal government, was in question. A third of the text, and the main focus of his thesis, is directed to an explanation that Shōin in his person and actions drew into himself the diverse influence of the previous two hundred years, distilling ideas from the works of many scholars which he integrated into his own thinking and reshaped in the critical circumstances of Bakumatsu. Earl concludes with an overview of major writings in both Japanese and Western languages which are readily available, emphasizing the fact which scholars soon discover for themselves, that interpretations of Shōin reflect strong fashions in historiography often themselves dictated by demands of national politics. Earl nominates Heinrich Dumoulin's "Yoshida Shōin" (1938)¹⁰² as "probably the best introduction to Shōin",¹⁰³ but reserves final judgment because of the over-emphasis on the element of imperial restoration and under-emphasis on evolutionary changes in Shōin's viewpoint. This is understandable as Earl's own concentration is on Shōin's political attitudes, with particular stress on the evolutionary factor as a key to understanding the new ideologies of Bakumatsu. His selection of Shōin's writings and their analysis is so well blended with the brief biographical study¹⁰⁴ however, that a strong impression of Shoin's personality emerges.

Harootunian's Toward Restoration, subtitled "The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan"¹⁰⁵ and Huber's The

102. Supra, fn. 26.

103. Ibid., pp. 112-113, fn. 2 contd.

104. Ibid., pp. 112-136.

105. Harootunian, H.D., Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan, Berkeley 1970.

Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan¹⁰⁶ of a decade later, both premise revolutionary interpretations as the lead into their main arguments and both, like Earl, devote a section of their text to an analysis of Shōin and his activities. Harootunian, in a discussion "The Culture of Action: Yoshida Shōin", outlays seventy-three pages in vindicating his argument that Shōin's career rested on a belief that action in all directions would solve the contemporary crisis and reveal a new concept of leadership, insisting that violent action might be justified if it flowed from a prior "inner commitment to principle and loyalty".¹⁰⁷ Harootunian, like Earl, also draws on Shōin's own voluminous writings. He strongly abjured the inclusion of all but the barest minimum of historical analysis, to assemble a picture of a man who abandoned received modes of conduct¹⁰⁸ and inherited possibilities,¹⁰⁹ and chose extremism and revolution.¹¹⁰ Shoin's last two years were spent, according to Harootunian's interpretation, "translating his youthful psychological maladjustment into political rhetoric, first as a teacher, and then as a would-be leader of a band of heroes".¹¹¹ Such rhetoric may carry its own conviction and certainly reflects the political and social pre-occupations of the late 1960s but its conclusion is a far cry from that furnished by a detailed examination of the *Sonjukuki*.¹¹² and its circumstances.

Huber's claim to consideration in a section on biographers is more tenuous. It is based solely on the inclusion of a chapter called "Early Life of Yoshida Shōin",¹¹³ describing Shōin's life and

106. Supra.

107. Op.cit., Harootunian, p. 192.

108. Ibid., pp. 191 and 192, fn. contd.

109. Ibid., p. 232.

110. Ibid., p. 233.

111. Ibid.

112. For text and analysis of *Sonjukuki* see Chapter Four.

113. Huber, op.cit., pp. 7-41.

development including his time at the Shōka Sonjuku, 1856-59; the anticipation of such a title is that there is a 'later life' or 'mature years' when in reality for Shōin there is no later life at all. It is here that Huber unwittingly demonstrates some of the universal problems encountered in biographical writing, namely the forcing of an historical person into a preconceived interpretative model. The "Early Life" chapter presents a chronological record of events of Shōin's life with consistent references to his literary works, logically leading the reader towards the chapter on ideological reconstruction,¹¹⁴ whose intensity dominates the study. This results in an impression of a man in training for revolutionary action. Since in Huber's argument restoration is revolution, and the prime movers of restoration belong to a discontented service intelligentsia from a new substratum of the *bushi*¹¹⁵ class, then restoration must be an outlet activity for their class frustrations; in short Huber contravenes the convention of academic sobriety¹¹⁶ in the cause of stimulating argument.

There is no English language biographical study of Shōin comparable with the Yoshida Shōin of Tokutomi Iichiro (1893)¹¹⁷ and Naramoto Tatsuya (1951),¹¹⁸ nor one which can rank alongside Hackett's Yamagata Aritomo,¹¹⁹ in depth and perception. However the examination of careers, motives and goals of such men as Shōin in the ranks of the leadership-elite, provides one of the most useful means to understanding the Meiji

114. Ibid., pp. 42-69.

115. *bushi*: an alternative form for *shi*, the warrior/knight class - hence *bushidō*, the way of the warrior.

116. 'Sober' is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as "a quality which represents more than a passing mood; sane, controlled, sedate, not vehement nor passionate, or exaggerated" - mirror, no doubt, of the perfect historian.

117. Tokutomi Iichirō, Yoshida Shōin, Tokyo, 1893.

118. Naramoto Tatsuya, Yoshida Shōin, Tokyo, 1951.

119. Hackett, Roger F., Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922, 1971.

Restoration itself. Here balancing theories of revolution and social ferment against the theories of modernization has its most legitimate methodological function.

vi. A Problem of Semantics

An interpretation of the Meiji Restoration to which only oblique reference has as yet been made is contingent on the *coup d'etat*¹²⁰ theory associated with low status samurai. It presents the Meiji Restoration and the subsequent dismemberment of the Tokugawa 'web of government' as being accomplished by a regional coalition of great feudal lords and their samurai.¹²¹ The theory emphasizes the union that occurred between the western tozama han Satsuma, Chōshū, Hizen and Tosa in the final stage of Bakumatsu politics, popularized in the Satchō-Hito slogan as providing the source of the immediate post-Restoration national leadership. Its inherent logic finds for it a ready place in classroom history textbooks but not necessarily in scholarly studies. It cannot be summarily dismissed, however, because of the evidence of such domianial preponderance in the personnel of the first Meiji consultative assemblies and administrative councils, and because of Shōin's posthumous emotional hold over former Shōka Sonjuku students who took up key appointments in increasing numbers in the 1870s.

Other theories which arise from time to time out of the social and political realities, also demand our attention. The one which impinges most closely on this discussion was a derivation of the social unrest of the 1960s as evidenced in the world wide campus unrest and student radicalism, and the terrorist activities of the early 1970s.

120. *Coup d'etat*: the overthrow of an established or legitimate government by a radical conspiracy, in the Japanese case, engineered by low-ranking samurai.

121. W.G. Beasley examines this whole issue under the headings of "Reforming Lords" and "Dissenting Samurai", *op.cit.*, pp. 117-171.

Contemporary pre-occupation with these issues, not only in the universities but also in the community at large, was so strong that it was almost statutory to associate radical and terrorist propensities with the student body. Because advanced seminary education was the prerogative of all young samurai in Tokugawa times, this association has corrupted the meaning and interpretation of the role of *shishi* or the warriors, the men of spirit and high intent in the Bakumatsu period, as surely as it legitimized their activities. In the light of experience of the last two decades we began to see them only as rabble, "dropouts", terrorists in the modern sense. We lost sight of the real meaning of, for example, *rōnin*,¹²² leaderless or unaffiliated samurai, who not infrequently and for the highest possible principles, voluntarily dissociated themselves from their hanshu (lord of the domain) to spare him from shame which they may incur in some planned deed of daring. We overlooked those who like Shōin, while 'disenfranchised' as samurai for some officially unacceptable action, were nevertheless treated in almost all other respects as members of the han establishment.

This problem of the dependency of interpretation on contemporary circumstances is not indigenous to the twentieth century nor to the Western historian only. That most enlightened Confucian scholar of the Tokugawa period, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), pondering in political exile on the problems of historical writing, decried the uncritical acceptance of traditional records by Mito historians of his day and pressed for objective research. In *Shigi* ("Problems of History") he bemoans this general state of affairs.

122. *Rōnin* : leaderless or unaffiliated samurai. Technically Shōin became a *rōnin* in 1853 when he was dismissed from Chōshū service and lost his samurai status and income.

Concerning Chinese history and Confucianism, there are almost too many books to be studied. In Japan, however, there are no books that give a critical examination of historical facts and serve a practical purpose in government. So wretched has been the state of historical writing that I was roused to do something about it, but the circumstances are such as to preclude any hope of success. ¹²³

He concludes:

...I am extremely reluctant to let my writings appear in public. Frankly, I am entrusting myself to the judgment of men a century after my death. ¹²⁴

Shōin could well have written these words in anticipation of modern Restoration historiography.

This practice of choosing from among alternatives the one possible meaning of a word which best suits prior convictions and building a world of interpretation around it, may threaten the cause of objective judgment. Anticipating an argument examined more properly in the context of Shoin's concepts later in this thesis, ¹²⁵ let us look for instance at the word *shishi* already mentioned above. The young samurai of Tokugawa Japan were proud to believe they were *shishi* in the original Confucian sense. "A *shishi* does not forget the ditches and valleys"; ¹²⁶ in other words, he does not hesitate, nor fall by the wayside, but is constantly alert. The Tokugawa samurai were men holding high intent, men of purpose and determination. I doubt they ever diverged from this intention or interpretation even if or when they were associated with the more belligerent and dangerous events of Bakumatsu politics, and not all by any means pursued what may be termed radical, activist or

123. Arai Hakuseki Zenshū, V, 517-518 as cited in de Bary, Wm. T. *et al.* (eds), Sources of Japanese Tradition, vol. I, New York, and London, 1964, pp. 464-465.

124. Ibid., p. 466.

125. See further Chapter Five for further details.

126. Ibid., for an explanation of this Mencian quotation,

terrorist activities in the modern sense. Sakata and Hall¹²⁷ refer specifically to this question of usage in 1956.¹²⁸

We are concerned with the motives of these terrorists. First it should be noted that while they have come to be called *shishi* (patriots, loyalist), they called themselves *sōmō* (unattached men). They were not, as some historians claim, men who became *rōnin* for economic reasons. Rather it was through political conviction that they detached themselves from service to their daimyo. They were *shishi* who became *rōnin*, not *rōnin* who became *shishi*.¹²⁹

The emphasis is of course on the last sentence.¹³⁰

Sōmō, translated in this quotation as 'unattached men', is commonly translated as 'grass-roots heroes' which in the Western interpretation has strong political connotations of involvement of commoners, particularly peasants and urban support groups, in the socialist interpretation of class struggle. W.T. de Bary *et al.* obviously accept this inference because it occurs no less than five times in so many excerpts from Yoshida Shōin Zenshū printed on the one page of their collection of documents.¹³¹ The commentary¹³² compounds the misinterpretation by adding quite unabashedly:

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127. Sakata has long been involved in this field of scholarly interpretation. Sakata Yoshio, "Meiji Ishin Shi to Kaikyū shikan" ("The Meiji Restoration and the Class View of History"), Jimbun Gakuhō I, 1953: 53.
128. Sakata Yoshio and Hall, John Whitney, "The Motivation of Political Leadership in the Meiji Restoration", JAS, Vol. XVI, no. 1, Nov. 1956, pp. 31-50.
129. Ibid., p. 44.
130. The most famous *shishi* who fitted this category were those samurai of Mito domain who renounced their hereditary ties and status to Lord Mito Nariaki in order to participate in the successful assassination plot against Tairō Ii in March 1860.
131. W.T. de Bary *et al.* (eds), Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. II, New York, paperback edn 1964, p. 115, viz.:
 grass-roots heroes (YSZ V: 315)
 grass-roots uprising (YSZ IX: 239)
 grass-roots folk (YSZ VI: 164)
 grass-roots heroes (YSZ IX: 297), but adds p. 115, fn 2, *sōmō eiyū*, lit.: "grass-clump heroes".
132. Ibid., p. 110.

Yoshida became convinced that only among those close to the soil and untainted by the corruption of wealth and high office could be found men selfless and fearless enough to overthrow the regime. To arouse these stalwarts of the countryside...an inspiring example of true warrior spirit was needed. ¹³³

Further, writes the commentator, Shōin's call to action had in it "the essential ingredients of modern revolution".¹³⁴ Compared with Shōin's own words presented in the same section of the document collection, it is clear that "grass roots heroes" and call to revolution do not truly reflect Shōin's concept.

Once a man's will is set, he need no longer rely on others or expect anything from this world. His vision encompasses Heaven and earth, past and present, and the tranquility of his heart is undisturbed. ¹³⁵

Shōin lived and died a samurai; whatever his official han categorization, he had all his life the certitude and pride of the samurai in his rank and calling. Close study of his writings fails to convince me that when he speaks of these "unaffiliated" men, he means anything but samurai who for their principles see fit to dissociate or dissent from their lords, or are separated from them as he was, in the same mode as there were in Beasley's nomenclature "reforming lords"¹³⁶ who dissociated themselves from their normal shogunal affiliation. For Shōin, the *sōmō*, the grass clump, was a group of men of common origin, springing from the same source of history and tradition, rooted in the sacred soil of Japan, and with the same heroic aspirations.¹³⁷ It would be a much more simple task in analysing Shōin's role not only as forerunner of the Meiji Restoration, if it were possible to accept him as activator

133. Ibid., p. 110.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid., p. 112, YSZ III: 145.

136. Beasley, op.cit., p. 117.

137. It would be reasonable to see Takasugi Shinsaku's *Kiheitai*, the "new look" modern military unit comprising lower rank samurai and men from the rural sector, as being the revolutionary break with the past and forerunner of "grass-roots" movements, rather than the heroes of Shōin's writings.

of the first wave of a recognizable "all-class" movement towards freedom spread across the nation.

These then are some of the wider problems which must be pursued over and above the more specific questions of the personal interrelationships of the young samurai who came together briefly at the Shōka Sonjuku during one of the most critical moments in Japanese history. In this context, as in the interpretation of *shishi*, *kokutai*, *sonnō*¹³⁸ and other significant words of political definition to which we must refer frequently, it is necessary to remember that ideas are not autonomous; they operate in a given context and environment; they are as important for what they do say as for what they do not say.¹³⁹ Thus words of heady significance, by reason of their association with moments of crisis, must be understood within that crisis situation, not subjected to metamorphosis according to interpretive expediency. For Shōin, the idea of "emperor" connoted the most deeply felt sense of nation and destiny, transcending both his own personal identity, and unlimited by any fixed focus on the personality or personage of the occupant of the Imperial Throne at any given time. *Sonnō*, 'Revere the Emperor', was to him the most profound duty required of a samurai - life or death without reservation, as he wrote in 1856:

My whole desire is, in the company of the Bakufu and the several feudal lords, to serve the Imperial Court. Inasmuch as the Shogun is such by appointment of the Imperial Court, I consider him to be a loyal servant of the Imperial Court... 140

138. *Sonnō* - honour or revere the Emperor customarily as in compound *sonnō-jōi* - 'Revere the emperor, Repel the Barbarian' the slogan of the loyalist movement in decade after 1858.
Kokutai - essential or unique qualities of Japan's polity.

139. See further Marius B. Jansen on Levenson's ideas in "Conciliar Thought in Late Tokugawa Times", Asian Cultural Studies 3, I.C.U. Publication, IIIA, October 1962, pl. 57-71.

140. YSZ III: 595. From Komō Yōwa, 1856.

Restoration to Shōin meant, in the strict Chinese classical sense, an upsurge of morality which alone could "set the Imperial mind at rest", a phrase he used frequently, exclude the foreigners and finally, if necessary, replace a disloyal Bakufu.¹⁴¹ This was the ultimate goal of his thinking and planning. If a revolutionary end was served, it was served by the most conservative of all means.

vii. The Pathfinder.

It may appear irresponsible at this point in an historiographical essay to introduce for the first time reference to an historian whose work dominated the field of Western scholarship on Japan in the 1940 and 1950s. I refer to E.H. Norman¹⁴² whose classic Japan's Emergence as a Modern State (1940) was the pathfinder for generations of scholars to whom he was the bridge between the pre-war Marxist school of Japanese historians and the new breed historians of the West, who pursued with enthusiasm the classic view he displayed so ably. The major weakness of the study for us derives from the background area of enquiry against which his thesis developed, namely, urgent need on the part of the United States to review and understand the rising power of Japan in East Asia, and the increasing awareness of the Communist threat in the Chinese political conflict, making true scholarly objectivity impossible. Norman's stated aims¹⁴³ reveal the potential inadequacies of the text. He elaborates on them in the introduction to the original edition:-

1. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of the policies of Western Powers in the Far East; their territorial and economic interests; the effects on their Far

141. This refers to the Admonitions theory discussed by Earl, op.cit., pp. 202-203, 207 and 210.

142. Norman, E.H., Japan's Emergence as a Modern State. Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1940.

143. Ibid., p. x.

Eastern policies of internal economic and political developments...

- II. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of Japanese foreign policy and possible important future developments;...the principal political, economic and social factors which may be expected in a post-war Japan; possible and probable adjustments on the part of other nations which could aid in the solution of Japan's fundamental problems.

His strengths, however, are too many to enumerate.

His methods of assembling statistical tables, economic data and regional reviews are not new, but what is new is the broad sweep of his concepts which they supported. Superseded in the late 1950s by the onslaught made by Craig's¹⁴⁴ meticulous focus on the han-nation interrelationship and the place of loyalism and political motivation in the emergence of the new leadership,¹⁴⁵ Norman nevertheless exposed the inadequacies of the most persuasive interpretations which had dominated until that time. Norman was not in isolation in his interpretation of Restoration in economic terms. He had drawn extensively from some of the major studies on land problems, tax documents and agricultural government departmental memoranda of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods prepared by Japanese scholars. He discusses these works intensively in his "Selected Bibliography on Meiji Japan"¹⁴⁶ contained in The Emergence of Japan as a Modern State, and comments encouragingly on the overwhelming nature of the primary sources available on Meiji statesmen - and the impenetrable style in which most are written.

144. Craig, A.M., Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration, Cambridge, Mass., 1961. This was the first major case study of Bakumatsu politics, choosing the focus of one han and thus on domainial conditions as they related to national developments. Craig's aim was to identify those aspects of Chōshū history and those able men who contributed to the han's substantial role in Restoration history.

145. Ibid. The basic thesis of Craig's work.

146. Ibid., pp. 211-222.

In this bibliography it is impossible even to scratch the surface of a vast corpus comprising memoirs, diaries and biographies of Meiji statesmen. Such collections as the *Kiheitai Bikki* for example, describing the diary or epistolary from the activities of the *Kiheitai* ("shock troops" - the name for the Choshu volunteers who fought the Tokugawa armies on the eve of the Restoration) are written in a difficult old-fashioned Japanese style presenting the Western student with formidable problems. The importance of this collection lies in the fact that many of the Choshu *Kiheitai* became leaders in the Meiji Government. 147

Norman's most direct line of intellectual descendants are those who find their research matrix in the land as a power base in Tokugawa Japan and whose eyes are firmly fixed on the lower ranking samurai, moving downwards through the status system of the establishment, to merge with the "rising" urban class (*chōnin*) and "enlightened" peasants, there to find the true social and political basis of modern Japan among the grass roots' heroes. This is the justification for drawing him into a discussion of leadership, radicals and grass roots' movements, since his work is still as relevant to the economic historian, revolutionist and social anthropologist today as it was in 1940.

viii. "New Look" Historiography

In pursuing such problems of historiography in our search for the real Shōin, it is useful to recall two events which combined to alter the course of post-war¹⁴⁸ historiography¹⁴⁹ in Japan itself: the first was the loosening in 1956 of restraints on historical research which had been imposed by pre-war and wartime government authorities; the second was the centennial celebration of Year of Meiji, 1968. The first of these resulted in an immediate shift towards a more critical approach by historians, a new interest in Japan's ancient history and

147. Ibid., p. 220.

148. In this thesis 'post-war' refers to post World War II.

149. Miyata Shimpachirō, "Histories in the Making", JQ, Vol. X, No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1963, pp. 523-527; also "Bibliographies of Recent Publications", JQ, Vol. IX, No. 1, Jan-Mar. 1962, pp. 117-119 and Vol. IX, No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1963, pp. 497-498.

national origins and a ready access to long-censored information on the Imperial Institution and military history. The second stimulated a more vigorous interest in modern Japan and its origins and the modernization programmes initiated under Meiji, but it was also marked by a more noticeable national self-pre-occupation. Prior to 1968 there had been an intensification of the publication programmes initiated in the 1950s, with the Iwanami Press presenting an eager public with twenty-three volumes of essays on Japanese history in the years 1962 and 1963.¹⁵⁰ These essays were a summation of studies and research on modern and contemporary Japan which had been completed in the period after World War II. Critical analysis of political control and class relations was noticeable in many essays, and there was an increasing emphasis on the question "Who are the Japanese?"

The 1960s were also of great importance for history studies and intellectual developments in another way. The United States-Japan Security Treaty, accepted reluctantly by the Japanese in April 1953 with the ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty as a packet-deal necessity, came up for renewal in 1960. Within Japan now well on the way to economic recovery, such a conflict of opinion occurred that antagonism and controversy insinuated itself into the whole climate of Japanese thought bringing sharp repercussions on the historical scene. The violent student revolts and the thirteen month-long seige of the prestigious University of Tokyo, and close-down of others were only one of its manifestations.¹⁵¹ Emphasis on the revolutionary aspects of change and modernization was now equally absorbing to the

150. Sixty essays prepared by sixty scholars are contained in these twenty-three volumes of which the first appeared in 1962. Ienaga, S., Sato, S. and Furushima, T. (eds), Iwanami Shōjiten Nihonshi, Tokyo, 1962.

151. Murata Kiyooki, "Behind Campus Disputes", The Japan Times, Tokyo, December 29, 1968, p.8.

Japanese historian as it had been to his American counterpart by the end of the 1960s. Viz., Harootunian, Towards Restoration (1970).¹⁵²

It is significant to note that in this period, Shōin and his philosophy dropped out of sight and his patriotic poems, popular during the war, were pushed aside. His qualities of heroism and love of Emperor were not seen as the model for students of the 60s, though Mishima Yukio's dramatic suicide in November 1970 fractured this indifference.¹⁵³

It was the sudden and desperate concentration on the question of national identity which followed the Nixon and the Oil Shocks, themselves followed by the fulfilment of post-war economic recovery goals, which caused an upturn in interest in Shōin. There is some indication that the aspirations of revolutionary terrorism and radical student movements were not identified with Shōin's life and writings, either in the minds of scholars or of the general public. However, in the way of popular fashion particularly in a media-conscious nation, the production on national television of three historical dramas with themes related to mid-nineteenth history, each presented weekly over a period of twelve months, stimulated great public enthusiasm for late Tokugawa history. One of these dramas focused on the person of a Dutch trained doctor ("Kashin") and the political ramifications of the intrusion of Rangaku¹⁵⁴ into the neo-Confucian system; the second concentrated on the presence of a Satsuma han delegation at the Paris Exposition of 1867 in defiance of the official Bakufu prohibition of individual domain representation,

152. Harootunian, H.D., Towards Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan, Berkeley, 1970, is the first example of this new mood in interpretation.

153. Mishima Yukio (1925-1970) the talented writer, actor and right-wing extremist chose the anniversary of Shōin's execution (21 November) as the day to stage his own dramatic suicide on the balcony of the Self-Defence Forces Headquarters, Ichigaya, Tokyo. He wrote of the manners and life style of the post-war generation and its alienation from the true Japanese values.

154. Rangaku: Dutch studies synonymous with Western scholarship (contd)

thereby transferring to the European scene the tensions of pre-Restoration politics. The third of these historical dramas was based on the events of the Bakumatsu period with which this thesis is concerned, dramatizing the lives of the young samurai of uninhibited loyalism and high purpose, chiefly of Chōshū han. Entitled Shishi no Jidai based on a book by Yamada Taichi, this drama confronted more than half the population of Japan with the life and death of Yoshida Shōin and the activities of his friends in splendid colour and sound. The repercussions are unfathomable.¹⁵⁵

What has this to do with the serious historian? - for one who had already spent many hours pondering on the problem of when does an historical personage become a cult hero, and the more difficult question "At what point in Japanese order does sanctification take place?"

By the time at which this latter television series was screened, the city of Hagi in Yamaguchi prefecture¹⁵⁶ had improved the standard of historical displays in its municipal museum and castle precincts. City and Shrine authorities had also made plans for the completion of a special Yoshida Shōin Historical Museum complex in the grounds of the Shōin Jinja, the largest Shinto Shrine in a city already dedicated to his memory. In 1972 the conventional, even shabby, display of Shōin memorabilia was housed in a lecture annexe to the Shrine. By 1980 it had been upgraded in status to a vast "twelve stations" type of dioramic walkway with life-sized wax figures arranged in scenes from

154. (contd). Shiba Ryotarō Kashin Shinchocha, Tokyo 1972.

155. Yamada Taichi, Shishi no Jidai, Tokyo, 1978. The carefully researched and beautifully presented hour-long dramas, the high point of viewing every Sunday night, commenced on NHK some seventeen years ago. Their heroes become national heroes and their geographical locations become the focus of domestic tourism. 'Fifty-two million viewers' is a reliable average estimate for each episode's audience, according to Asahi Shimbun.

156. Hagi of Nagato, the castletown and administrative centre of the Chōshū domain lords throughout the Tokugawa period, is examined in detail in Chapter Three.

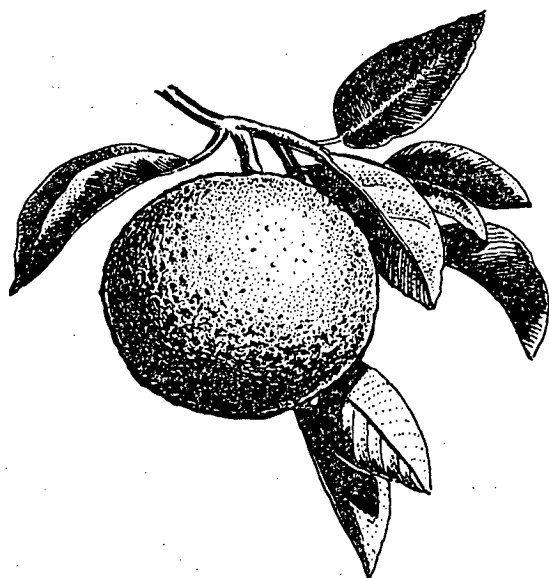
Shōin's life, with recorded atmospherics and voice commentaries.

Canonization seemed complete.

It is impossible to ignore such developments in the course of historical research processes, nor fail to observe the quality of public response to them. One might wonder if Japanese response in such situations differs from that stimulated by the efforts of historical societies and centennial committees. The answer is of less importance in the long run than the admonition of folkloricists and local historians, who urge us to forget objectivity in the pursuit of true interpretation and allow historical intuition to take over. We could counter the question by asking. "Are we likely in the event we allow subjectivity and historical intuition full rein, to produce any more substantial distortion of Yoshida Shōin's image than if we seek to interpret him in terms of our political perceptions of terrorism and revolutionary reform?" In the Tokugawa context everyone who studied, thought, in the sense of applying learning to contemporary affairs. Since "everyone" by inference meant all samurai or the elite military intelligentsia, by the same token, everyone was a thinker and therefore a potential reformer.

Chapter Two

Shōin's Life and Times



Natsumikan of Hagi buke yashiki

TABLE 1. CHRONOLOGY OF LIFE OF YOSHIDA SHŌIN 1830-1859

Sources: This chronology is distilled from twelve years of research. Major sources consulted in its completion are listed in the Bibliography. In addition the following *nempyō* were useful:

- Hagi-shi Kyōiku Iinkai (ed.), Yoshida Shōin Nempuryaku (Shōin Iboku Tenjikan, Hagi, 1978)
Hagi Shiryōkan (ed.), Chōshūhan Nempyō (unpublished chronological chart, Hagi Historical Archives)
Hagi Shōin Jinja Rekishikan (ed.), Yoshida Shōin Nempyō (unpublished chronological chart, Shōin Jinja Historical Museum)

Refer also to Table 3. Chronology of Major Writings of Yoshida Shōin, for complete listings of Japanese and English titles of Shōin works.

NOTE: Throughout this chronology, when traditional lunar months are used, they are referred to by numerical count (for example, 6th month). When Western dates are used, the lunar calendar has been converted to the Gregorian calendar.

- Age is by Japanese calculation.

<u>Era Dates:</u>	Tempō	1830-44
	Kōka	1844-48
	Ka'ei	1848-54
	Ansei	1854-60

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	References Notes	National Events
1830	Tempō 1	1	Shōin born. 20 September Matsumoto village, Hagi city in Nagato (Chōshū) S-W Japan; 2nd son of Sugi Yurinosuke Childhood name Toranosuke	Father: Sugi Yurinosuke 27 years samurai: 26 koku Mother: Takiko (Kodamataki) 24 years Older brother: Umetarō 3 years Older sister: Chiyo 2 years Shōin (samurai name: Noritaka); also used names: Daijirō, Matsujirō, Torajirō, Motosei, Muitsu, Matsunosaburo, and Kwa-no-uchi and Nijū-ikkai-mōshi	Ienari (1773-1841), 11th Tokugawa shogun, in 35th year of rule Ninkō (1800-46) Reigning Emperor, succeeded 1817. Frequent sightings of foreign ships in Japanese waters Widespread economic instability
1831 to 1833	Tempō 2 to Tempō 4	2	Three years' uneventful family life in Matsumoto	Negotiations over Shōin's future as adopted heir to Yoshida family proceed	Rice famine in nation. Major outbreaks of rural unrest in Chōshū han forcing reforms
1834	Tempō 5	5	Adoption by Yoshida Daisuke (Kenryō), uncle, as son and heir official	Yoshida Daisuke, samurai: 56 koku; younger brother of father Sugi; scholar in Confucian classics and head of Yamaga School of Military Studies	Continuing agitation for local government and tax reform in Chōshū General peasant uprisings (<i>ikki</i>)
1835	Tempō 6	6	Shōin takes name Daijirō and succeeds as head of Yoshida household on death of uncle	Yoshida Daisuke dies, aged 29. As Daijirō, Shōin returns to Sugi household; influenced by Uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin, later instructor to General Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912)	Chōshū authorities apply budgetary restraints Typhoons and bad harvests
1836	Tempō 7	7	Shōin's education accelerated	Tutors and legal advisers appointed	National economic hardship
1837	Tempō 8	8	Shōin groomed for <i>han</i> academy entrance	Daimyō appoints academy staff members Tamaki Bunnoshin, Matanabe Rokubei, Hayashi Shinjin and Ishizu Heishichi as tutors and legal advisors	Mōri Yoshichika (Keishin) (1819-1871) invested as Chōshū <i>Hanashū</i> Murata Seifu appointed Chōshū Minister of Reform Tokugawa Ienari (1783-1841) retires as Shogun; succeeded by Tokugawa Ieyoshi (1793-1853) U.S.S. Morrison enters Edo Bay Oshio Heihachirō (1793-1837) leads Osaka rebellion
1838	Tempō 9	9	Shōin "comes-of-age" as samurai Enters Meirinkan as student of Kagaku and Yamaga schools of military studies	Meirinkan is the official Chōshū <i>han</i> academy for sons of samurai (est. 1719)	Widespread famine and rural discontent Takano Chōei; Yume Monogatari criticism of Bakufu
1839	Tempō 10	10	Shōin lectures on military strategy at Meirinkan in <i>Hanashū</i> 's presence November given pupil-teacher status	Younger sister Hisako born Hayashi Shinjin, Ishizu Heishichi and Yamada Uemon re-appointed Shōin's tutors	Bakufu orders survey of Edo Bay at Urugahama
1840	Tempō 11	11	6th month: Delivers Presentation Lecture on "Rules of Warfare" from <i>Bukyō Zenshū</i> by Yamaga Sōko, as part of instruction programme for Mōri <i>Hanashū</i>	Asano Kōgensha inducted as instructor in military studies at Meirinkan Tamaki Bunnoshin receives credit for brilliant student	Murata publishes first official Chōshū budget for discussion General educational reform programme in Chōshū

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events
1841	Tempō 12	12	Shōin commences studies in calligraphy, archery and horsemanship; Principal Instructor: Hatano Genzaemon	Tamaki Bunnoshin appointed official instructor at Meirinkan and Shōin's tutor in Kagaku	Mizuno Tadakuni, <i>Rōjū</i> 7/1841 Series of Bakufu Edicts initiates Reform Era with drastic action against Merchant Guilds (<i>Za</i>)
1842	Tempō 13	13	Delivers exposition of <u>Bukyō Zenshū</u> at <u>Hanshū</u> 's official visitation	Bunnoshin sets up private school of military studies to be called <i>Shōka Sonjuku</i> Original list Yoshida Daijirō (Shōin); Sugi Umetarō; Yasuda Tatsunosuke; Kubo Seitarō; Fukasu Tamon; Asano Ōrai	Chōshū debt reduced Sakuma Shōzan (1811-64) of Matsushiro publishes paper on coastal defence
1843	Tempo 14	14	Shōin student at both Meirinkan and Shōka Sonjuku	Younger sister Fumiko born Sugi Yurinosuke elevated in status to master of 100 <i>ashigaru</i> and Warden of Thieves Tamaki Bunnoshin completes term at Meirinkan as Kagaku tutor	Abe Masahiro (1819-57) "Thirty-Seven Year Debt Repayment Act" for samurai passed in Chōshū Widespread flood in Kantō Debasement of national coinage Nikkō annual procession curtailed to free money for coastal defence projects <i>Tenpōreki</i> (Calendrical Reform) programme completed, published 1846
1844	Kōka 1	15	Shōin receives special award from <i>Hanshū</i> for public lecture on "Emptiness and Reality" Begins instruction of village children in addition to Tamaki Bunnoshin's pupils	Yamada Uemon (Shōin's tutor) returns from Edo Recommends Shōin to study Mitsukuri Seigo: <u>Konyo Zushi</u> (7 vols) world geography Maternal Uncle Kubo Gorōzaemon retires as teacher, succeeded by Kubo Seitarō	Mizuno Tadakuni retires as <i>Rōjū</i> Murata Seifu replaced in Chōshū councils by Tsuboi Kuemon in reaction against reform British victory against China in Opium Wars King William of Holland warns Bakufu of necessity for foreign policy revision
1845	Kōka 2	16	Begins course in Naganuma military strategy under Yamada Matsuke Continues at Shōka Sonjuku	Younger brother Toshisaburō born (deaf)	
1846	Kōka 3	17	Receives diploma on completion of Naganuma course at Meirinkan. Intensive studies in <i>Chu Hsi</i> philosophy at <u>Sonjuku</u> Writes first political pamphlet <u>Gai'i Shōki</u> "Short discussion on foreigners"	Yamada Uemon directs study of frontier defence (<u>Hembō</u>) Loses possessions in the house-fire of tutor Hayashi Shinjin (Mabito)	Emperor Kōmei (1831-1867) succeeds to throne Commodore James Biddle USN with two warships rebuffed concerning diplomatic treaties British naval survey ships in waters around Okinawa <i>Tenmongata</i> established in Edo by Bakufu: Centre for Dutch studies and translation of foreign books

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events
1847	Kōka 4	18	Shōin impresses <i>Hanshū</i> with erudition at two visits to Meirinkan (March and April) 12 May visits Yuda Summer teaching programme at Sonjuku Distinguished graduation exercise at Meirinkan: <i>Heinai furoh</i> ("Discourse on Peace") Enters <i>hei</i> (senior section of academy)	Early summer Shōin makes first notable journey at request of <i>Hanshū</i> to Yuda in Suwa county which with Nagato comprises Mōri land holdings	Yamada Uemon in domiciliary confinement in Chōshū for recommendation on establishment of rifle units Murata Seifu appointed supervisor of translations of western books in Shōshū Sufu Masanosuke (b.1823) appointed inspector in Office of Revenues
1848	Ka'ei 1	19	Shōin becomes an independent professor at Meirinkan Presents students of military sciences in demonstration for <i>Hanshū</i> Occupies several minor offices in han administration at Hagi Castle 31 October presents <i>Ikenshō</i> a position paper on reorganisation of Meirinkan including elections and examination practices: <i>Meirinkan osaikō ni tsuki kizukishō</i>	Yamada, Hayashi and Inoue cease to be Shōin's tutors Sugi family moves residence to Matsumoto-mura, Shimizuguchi (also known as Kiyomizuguchi)	Shōheikō (Bakufu University) in Edo gradually upgrades Confucian curriculum to include vocational training courses for potential administrators Dutch Studies (map-reading, metallurgy, navigation, chemistry) acceptable as part of domain school programmes
1849	Ka'ei 2	20	Shōin allocated senior students in Meirinkan; continues lectures on <i>Bukyō Zenshū</i> Completes <i>Suiriku Senryaku</i> ("War preparation on Land and Sea") July, at order of <i>Hanshū</i> makes formal inspection of Chōshū coastline; report <i>Kaihō Kiryaku</i> ("Resumé of travels around the Bays") Late autumn conducts military manoeuvres at Hagadai (east of Hagi)	Mori <i>Hanshū</i> conducts Meirinkan students on military manoeuvres This 2nd journey within Chōshū and neighbouring districts includes Susa, Otsu, Toyo'ura Akamaseki The Meirinkan moved to new site in centre of Hagi city and buildings opened for classes	USN Preble enters Nagasaki Bay; was rebuffed Bakufu launches conservative reform programme in use of western scientific knowledge; mainly confined to surgery and eye treatment
1850	Ka'ei 3	21	Castle defence lecture presented before <i>Hanshū</i> 8th month Kyushu Journey commences, passing through Nagasaki, Hirado and Kumamoto returns to Hagi 29/12 <i>Saiyū Nikki</i> ("Diary of a Journey to the West") Changes name to Torajirō	4 months' educational tour included also Kokura, Saga, Ōmura, Amakusa, Shimabara (famous for Christian dissent), Yanagawa and Kurume Hirado: 50 days' study with Hayama Sanai and Yamaga Bansuke; Nagasaki: Chinese conversation lessons; visits Dutch ship; Kumamoto: first contact with Miyabe Teizō, loyalist scholar	Chōshū major reform in land reorganization, establishment of <i>buikukyoku</i> (Office for Savings and Loans) and expansion of shipping routes to Osaka and Ezo, improves <i>han</i> finances Increasing debate at Edo over policies on Seclusion Edicts

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events
1851	Ka'ei 4	22	<p>Mori <i>Hanshū</i> completes Yamagaryū course in military science under Shōin</p> <p>Shōin accompanies <i>Hanshū</i> to Edo on <i>sankin-kōtai</i> duties</p> <p>Lectures twice a month at Mōri daimyō mansion to Chōshū samurai and visitors from 28 May</p> <p>10 July lectures <i>Hanshū</i> on duties of subjects</p> <p>12 July visits Priest Chikuin of Zuisenji, Buddhist temple in Kamakura</p> <p>19 July Ten day trip visiting coastal defences of Chiba and Kanazawa</p> <p>12 month visits Mito</p> <p>Records this section of travel in <i>Tōyu Nikki</i> ("Diary of a Journey to the East")</p> <p>Takes name Matsunotasaburō</p>	<p>Stated purpose of Edo visit to further military science research; brief stopover in Fushimi (Kyoto)</p> <p>Enrolled as student in Sakuma Shōzan <i>juku</i></p> <p>Studies under a number of specialists including Yamaga Sōsui, head of Yamaga <i>Edogaku</i></p> <p>12 times per month, and Asaka Gonsai (1785-1860), head of literary division at Shōheikō official Bakufu Confucian academy</p> <p>Chikuin was Shōin's mother's brother was eminent Buddhist scholar</p> <p>Shōin meets <i>Mitogaku-sha</i> including Aizawa Seishisai (1781-1863) and Toyoda Tenko (1805-65) on two short visits stays, with loyalist scholars while awaiting visa</p>	<p>Bakufu reverses 1841/42 Tempō Reforms: guilds re-established</p> <p>Bakufu upgrades defence emplacements round Edo, Sagami and Suruga Bays</p>
1852	Ka'ei 5	23	<p>In New Year commences Journey to North without proper Chōshū <i>han</i> documentation, visiting Mito, Aizu, Niigata, Sadogashima, Morioka, Aomori, Sendai; returns to Edo 24 May</p> <p>Records in <i>Tohokuyū Nikki</i> ("Diary of a Journey to the North") (Tohoku)</p> <p>29 May Gives himself up to <i>Hanshū</i> with request for punishment</p> <p>9 June Ordered to return to Hagi</p> <p>30 June Placed under domiciliary confinement in Sugi household</p> <p>Adopts Shōin - "Shadow of the Pine" as new name</p>	<p>Travels in company of Miyabe Teizō and Ebata Gorō. Journey planned as fact finding examination of coastal defences in all <i>han</i> to north</p> <p>7 months' confinement; gives lessons to neighbourhood children; reads and writes</p>	<p>Dutch caution Bakufu about Perry's imminent mission and possible demands</p>
1853	Ka'ei 6	24	<p>19 Jan Official <i>han</i> sentence; loses samurai title and 57 Koku income</p> <p>Receives ten-year <i>han</i> travel/study scholarship</p> <p>7 March Leaves Hagi passing through Shikoku, Yamato, Ise Gifu and via Nakasendō to Edo</p> <p>5 July Visits Chikuin in Kamakura</p> <p>6 July in Edo when Perry enters Edo Bay</p>	<p>Sugi household moves residence to Matsumoto-mura Shindo</p> <p>First official visit to Kyoto and beginning of notable Imperial loyalism</p> <p>In Edo Sakuma Shōzan assists Shōin's definition of position</p>	<p>Tokugawa Iesada (1824-58) becomes 13th shōgun</p> <p>Shinagawa forts completed</p> <p>8 July Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry USN with 2 frigates and 2 sailing ships anchors off Urakahama</p> <p>contd.</p>

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events
1853 [contd]			<p>9 July Visits Uragahama</p> <p>Presents <i>Hanshū</i> with <i>Masa ni oyaban to su</i> ("I presume to present my personal opinion") and <i>Shokyū Shigen</i> ("An absolutely necessary private opinion") Uses name Matsujirō</p> <p>18 September Departs for Nagasaki via Kumamoto to board Russian ship</p> <p>4 December Returns to Hagi</p> <p>27 December Leaves for Osaka and Kyoto</p>	<p>Shōin with Shōzan's students observes Perry's landing, makes calculations on guns and ship's measurements</p> <p>These two pamphlets marked the beginning of a series of writings on the duties of subjects in a time of national crisis</p> <p>Shōzan encourages this episode</p> <p>Miyabe Teizō his companion</p>	<p>10/11 July: Perry enters Edo waters for consultations with Bakufu representatives</p> <p>14 July: Official documents are exchanged at Kurihama</p> <p>Perry departs</p> <p>August: Translations of American letters circulated for daimyō comment: no consensus</p> <p>Bakufu orders armaments from Holland</p> <p>Rear Admiral E.V. Putiatin, Russian Envoy, in Nagasaki [22/8-23/11] requests concessions and commercial treaty. Departs without success</p>
1854	Ansei 1	25	<p>3 January Kyoto</p> <p>26 January Leaves for Edo via Nakasendō</p> <p>3 April Leaves for Hodogaya in Kanagawa with Kaneko</p> <p>15 April Follows Perry's fleet to Izu-Shimoda</p> <p>24 April Makes approaches to U.S.N. Officer of fleet</p> <p>25 April Boards U.S. Powhatan requesting passage to America</p> <p>12 May Imprisoned at Demmacho Prison, Edo, 150 days for breaking Seclusion Laws</p> <p>9 October relocated to Mōri Azabu <i>yashiki</i>, Edo</p> <p>14 December was returned to Hagi with Kaneko under guard</p> <p>Shōin incarcerated Noyama Prison, Kaneko in Iwakura Prison</p> <p>21 December From prison circulated <i>Nijū ikkai Mōshi Setsu</i> ("Twenty-one times audacious samurai") and began <i>Yūshū Roku</i> ("Record of Imprisonment")</p>	<p>First meeting with Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858), senior loyalist, Umeda Umpin and others, Sakuma Shōzan in Yokohama on business of coastal defence</p> <p>Advised and assisted by Shōzan who is thereby implicated and later gaoled</p> <p>Known as the "Shimoda Incident"</p> <p>Rebuffed by Americans, Shōin and Kaneko voluntarily surrender to Japanese authorities</p> <p>The Shimoda experience is documented by Shōin in <i>Sangatsu nijūshichi ya noki</i> "Chronicle of the Night of 27th Day 3rd month"</p> <p>Shōin adopts this as a new penname. This parallels Sakuma Shōzan's writings of the same time</p>	<p>Perry returns to Uragaham with 8 ships. Negotiations begin 8/3</p> <p>31/3 Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed at Kanagawa between Japan and U.S. with open ports designated, August Japan and England</p> <p>October Japan and Holland</p> <p>October Japan and Russia</p>
1855	Ansei 2	26	<p>Shōin compiles <i>Shichi Kisoku</i> ("Seven Rules of the Samurai")</p> <p>28 March commences lectures on Mencius to fellow prisoners</p> <p><i>Kaikoroku</i> ("Record of Past") among significant writings</p>	<p>March Kaneko dies at Iwakura</p> <p>March Reformist Buddhist priests Gesshō and Mokurin consult over Shōin's predicament</p> <p>Shōin reads extensively during 15 months' Nōyama detention</p>	<p>Bakufu establishes Nagasaki Kaigun Denshūshi (Naval Training Academy) for development as complete Centre for Introduction of Western learning</p>

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events																		
1856	Ansei 3	27	<p>22 January Shōin released from Noyama Prison and placed under domiciliary confinement in Sugi house at Matsumoto. Resumes teaching</p> <p>August introduces seminar series on <u>Bukyo Zenshū</u></p> <p>Compiles <u>Shōka Sonjukuki</u> ("Record of Original Sonjuku") at request of Uncle Kubo Gorōzaemon</p> <p>Kōmō Yowa ("Additional Explanatory Notes on Mencius") distributed</p> <p>September correspondence with Mokurin on Imperial Loyalty</p> <p>December Umeda Umpin arrives in Hagi for discussions</p>	<p>Shōin extends teaching to cover Kubo's students now amalgamated under <u>Shōka Sonjuku</u> title with Tamaki's students</p> <p>November general amnesty for political prisoners in Noyama, credited to Shōin's intervention</p> <p>Accepted as one of Shōin's most significant literary works</p> <p>Gesshō (1817-58) publishes work on Buddhism as national protection used, for instruction in Sonjuku</p> <p>Shōin becomes principal of expanded <u>Shōka Sonjuku</u></p>	<p>September U.S. Consul Townsend Harris in residence at Shimoda. Negotiates with Iwase Tadanari (1816-61) <u>Gaikoku-bugyō</u> (Foreign Country Commissioner)</p> <p>French and British military success in China</p> <p>Imported guns mounted at Edo gates</p> <p>Bakufu establishes</p> <p>i. <u>Kōbusho</u> (Military Training Institute) to train shōgunal samurai</p> <p>ii. <u>Bansho Shirabeshō</u> (Office for Investigation of Barbarian Documents)</p>																		
1857	Ansei 4	28	<p>19 December Facilities extended and become new Sonjuku on Sugi property</p> <p>Writings include:</p> <p><u>Gaiban Tsūryaku</u> ("Outline History of Foreign Countries")</p> <p><u>Yushitsu Bunkō</u> ("Writings from a Dark Room")</p> <p><u>Nōyama-goku Dokushoki</u> ("Prison cell manuscripts") Lists of Books, read in Noyama Prison</p>	<p>25 April Kubo Seitarō and Tamaki Bunnoshin discuss policy and progress of <u>Shōka Sonjuku</u></p> <p>Among listed enrolled pupils:-</p> <table><tr><td>Kido Koin</td><td>1833-77</td><td>24yrs</td></tr><tr><td>Maebara Issei</td><td>1834-76</td><td>23yrs</td></tr><tr><td>Shinagawa Yajirō</td><td>1844-1900</td><td>14 yrs</td></tr><tr><td>Kusaka Genzui</td><td>1840-64</td><td>17yrs</td></tr><tr><td>Yamagata Aritomo</td><td>1838-1922</td><td>19yrs</td></tr><tr><td>Itō Hirobumi</td><td>1841-1909</td><td>16yrs</td></tr></table>	Kido Koin	1833-77	24yrs	Maebara Issei	1834-76	23yrs	Shinagawa Yajirō	1844-1900	14 yrs	Kusaka Genzui	1840-64	17yrs	Yamagata Aritomo	1838-1922	19yrs	Itō Hirobumi	1841-1909	16yrs	<p>October U.S. Consul Harris in Edo for negotiations with shōgun</p> <p>Hotta Masayoshi (1810-64) <u>Rōjū</u> (1855-58) to Kyoto for Imperial Consultations</p> <p>Number of <u>Kuge</u> opposed to policy of Opening of Japan</p> <p>"Arrow War" (1857-8) between China and Great Britain</p>
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Yamagata Aritomo	1838-1922	19yrs																					
Itō Hirobumi	1841-1909	16yrs																					
1858	Ansei 5	29	<p>Domiciliary confinement continues Shōin ill mid-March-April</p> <p>25 March further Sonjuku building extension</p> <p>April Shōin assists resolution of controversy with Meirinkan</p> <p>Chōshū authorities give permission for Kagaku teaching</p> <p>August Artillery practice increased</p> <p>6 September 6 students including Itō and Yamagata to Kyoto</p> <p>5 December arrested and returned to Noyama Prison for unpatriotic activities</p> <p>11 December plans assassination of <u>Rōjū</u> Manabe Akikatsu, Bakufu emissary to Imperial Court</p> <p>Failed</p>	<p>Students from Sonjuku on <u>han</u> military manoeuvres at Oiyama</p> <p><u>Kari Jōyaku</u> - period of intrigue Shōin's students involved in plots against Bakufu at Kyoto</p>	<p>January 16: Hotta receives Harris <u>Ansei no Taigoku</u> (Ansei Purge) begins August under Ii Naosuke (1815-1860) as <u>Tairō</u></p> <p>29 July Treaty of Amity and Commerce (Harris) signed by Japan and America with controversial extraterritoriality clauses</p> <p>Treaties with Holland, Russia and England follow</p> <p>Umeda Umpin and Rai Mikisaburō arrested</p> <p>Gesshō dies</p> <p>Tokugawa Iesada (1834-58) dies without heir</p> <p>Tokugawa Iemochi (1846-66) of Kii succeeds as 14th Shogun</p> <p>contd.</p>																		

Year	Era Name	Japanese Age	Personal Activities	Reference Notes	National Events
1858 (contd)			<p>16 December attempts to prevent <i>Hanshū</i> leaving for Edo on proper duties</p> <p>Writings include:- <u>Kyōfu no Gen</u> ("Words of a Fool") <u>Ronsaku Bōgi</u> ("Deliberations on Matters of Strategy") <u>Shōka Sonjuku Shōkuji Jimmei Hikaei</u> ("Record of students taking meals at Sonjuku") published</p>		
1859	Ansei 6	30	<p>Shōin takes a vow of fasting at New Year</p> <p>18 February <i>Yōgasaku</i> Affair - abortive attempt to persuade <i>Hanshū</i> to intervene with Emperor versus Bakufu</p> <p>26 February some of the released Sonjuku students leave for Kyoto</p> <p>8 April Mōri leaves for Edo</p> <p>21 May Bakufu orders Shōin to be sent to Edo for investigation</p> <p>25 May Shōin departs Hagi for last time</p> <p>23 July confined at Sakurada <i>Yashiki</i> of <i>Hanshū</i> Mōri in Edo</p> <p>7 August; 30 September, and 31 October:- Judicial Examinations and sentencing</p> <p>Writings prior to execution: <u>Boshuki Moshitate no Omomuki Rompatu Jōken</u> ("Debate on Purport of the treatment of American Emissaries") <u>Seiki no Uta</u> ("Song of a Spirit of Rectitude") <u>Kokoku Shi</u> ("Heroic Aspirations") <u>Ruishōshu</u> ("Collection of Pine Tree of Tears")</p> <p>19 November Shōin writes <u>Ryukon Roku</u> ("Record of an Everlasting Spirit")</p> <p>20 November Executed by Decapitation at Kōzukabara, Edo</p>	<p>8 Shōka Sonjuku students protest and are placed under house arrest Shōin released temporarily during father's illness The avowed purpose was to join in anti-Bakufu activities. Irie, Nomura and Shinagawa included</p> <p>Sugi Yurinosuke and Sugi Umetarō lost their <i>han</i> appointments on the same day. Umetarō was later reinstated</p> <p>Shōin's body temporarily buried at Ekō-in by students; in 1862 transferred to burial plot in grounds of Mōri <i>Shimo yashiki</i> at Setagaya</p>	<p>August Lord Nariaki Mito <i>Hanshū</i> was prevented from entering Edo</p> <p>28 August some imprisonments and executions of <i>sonnō-jōi</i> loyalists in Kyoto and Edo</p>

i. The "Event-Making" Man

In a discussion on individual consciousness and historical action Hook states that "once the potentially great man is born, and as long as he remains on the scene, his influence of [sic] affairs is not a matter of chance".¹ Hook draws his models from the European historical scene but there is universal application in his conclusions. Without the perceptions of a contemporary observer or the skills of a psycho-historian, it is nevertheless possible by applying Hook's criteria, to identify Yoshida Shōin as a man of potential greatness, an "event-making" man.² Such a man finds a fork in the historical road but also helps to create it, thereby increasing the odds of success for the alternative he chooses by reason of those very qualities which are his by natural endowment.

From the preceding chapter it should be abundantly evident that a burgeoning biography industry has grown up around the figure of Yoshida Shōin. Put in bald quantitative terms, rather than the qualitative and conceptual language of historiography, some 292 major studies of Shōin as a man and thinker have been published in Japanese between 1880 and 1972,³ of which approximately one-third are biographical in nature. It would seem that the inescapable fate of an historian who attempts to discover a person and his thoughts is that he or she ends up writing a "life and times". The purpose of study is not to write such a biography of Shōin but a section of this type is a useful control. The study began with the hope that it might provide insights into how intellectual elites shaped attitudes

1. Hook, Sidney: The Hero in History: A Study in Limitations and Possibility. The John Day Co., New York, 1943, p. 170.
2. Hook's phrase, passim.
3. Nihon Jumbutsu Bunken Kokuroku, Tokyo, 1974, pp. 1151-1154.

and views toward national unity and progress held by Japanese in the modern era. It became clear that an understanding of Shōin in relationship to the period of great turbulence in which he lived and to the men who were his friends and *deshi*,⁴ facilitates analysis of his thought and actions.

Shōin, at first glance, is an estimable subject for such a treatment. His life though brief, 1830-1859, spans a transitional period of Japanese history, and his death occurs in the closing decades of the Tokugawa period, while his years of maturity pace out the tumultuous events after the forceful intrusion of foreign ships into Japanese home waters. The first glance, however, is deceptive, the very drama of the times leading to a possible distortion of events which must be rigorously guarded against. Moreover, there is a difference between what men, even great men, imagine they are doing and the objective meaning or significance of what they do.⁵ In other words, in order to understand truly the great man in his historical context, his activity must be understood not as the action of an individual versus his environment, but as the interactive operation of one aspect of a culture or happening in relation to others.⁶ This immediately creates the further problem of identification and selection of events and dates, since no matter from what perspective Shōin's life is viewed, all research points to his heroic qualities and confirms his claim to greatness. *Bakumatsu*⁷ in which most of the significant events of

4. *Deshi* lit disciple, but used chiefly in terms of religious and scholastic apprenticeship, and hereafter in this text with particular reference to Shōin's students.

5. See further, op.cit., Hook, p. 65.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 65, inter alia in a discussion on social determinism.

7. *Bakumatsu* refers to the period of downfall or breakdown of the Tokugawa government, the bakufu, and in modern usage usually equates with period 1853-1868, i.e. from the arrival of Perry to the restoration of the Emperor as central to politics. Some Japanese scholars prefer to backdate it to 1840, or even 1830.

Shōin's life occur has become, historically speaking, destined to present great men by reason of its own unique qualities.

It is possible also to adopt Shōin's life as a framework within which values are tested, with the consequent concentration on selected high points - or depths, of experience magnified to serve an argument or consolidate a position. Shōin as a hero in Japanese history has been so extensively exposed by a succession of biographers for his distinguished and remarkable acts in an age of unparalleled deeds and distinguished people, that it becomes increasingly difficult to sift the truth from the legend when truth itself is relative to the historical environment. Examples considered earlier were the tendency to discuss Shōin in terms of revolutionary activism⁸ or to examine his life in the context of Nijū-Ikkai Moshi,⁹ the "twenty-one times audacious samurai" designation by Shōin himself at certain stages of his life. Such an approach is of little assistance in the identification and analysis of the "historical moment" as climax to or fulfilment of a hero's destiny, since the appropriate moment has already been pre-selected. Such an historical moment in Erikson's estimation is determined

by the complementarity of what witnesses, for all manner of motivation, have considered momentous enough to remember and record, and what later reviewers have considered momentous enough to review and re-record in such a way that the factuality of the event is confirmed or corrected and actuality is perceived and transmitted to posterity.¹⁰

It is with such exhortation to reasonable historical judgment

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8. Huber, Thomas M., The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1983. This work depends on an interpretation of the Meiji Restoration as a resolution of class conflict by means of revolt of minor discontented officials of whom Shōin is considered the most influential.
 9. Earl, D. Magarey, Emperor and Nation in Japan, Seattle, 1964.
 10. Erikson, Erik, Life History and the Historical Moment, Toronto, 1975, p. 160.

firmly in mind that one confronts the events in Shōin's life which have assumed momentous and re-recordable character, because they are unprecedented, or because they seem mysteriously familiar, or further, because "analogous events come to mind that combine to suggest a plausible direction to historical recurrences"¹¹ which Erikson elsewhere concedes may cloud the issue.

The focus of this thesis as stated in the Introduction, is ultimately a period of less than eighteen months when, during domiciliary confinement, Shōin attracted a mixed group of young students to the Shōka Sonjuku. For a full understanding of the Sonjuku's extraordinary outreach, it is necessary to look at the whole man who was at its centre and to do so by steering a mid-course between the superficialities of conventional biographies and the turgidity of the conceptual approach. It is also advisable to balance the determination of Harootunian to abandon "biographical data" as much as possible in favour of conceptual organization¹² against Earl's method of letting Shōin "speak for himself" with stress "on the evolutionary factor".¹³ Conceptual analysis and primary documentation are emphasized in the later chapters. In this chapter the events of Shōin's exterior life are summarized in Table One and the world of his mind as manifested in his writings in Table Three. The Chronology of the life of Yoshida Shōin (Table 1) has been used to provide a firm biographical framework for this thesis, and to permit the later discussions to proceed without the impediments of excessive footnotes for minor details of life and circumstances. The table is the distillation of twelve

11. Erikson, op.cit., p. 160.

12. Harootunian, H.D., Toward Restoration. The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan, Berkeley, 1970, p. 191, fn 20.

13. Earl, David Magarey, Emperor and Nation in Japan, Seattle, 1964, p. 112.

year's research on Shōin and is based on a careful assessment of information provided in the biographical sections of numerous works both primary and secondary,¹⁴ and the copious chronologies compiled by local authorities on the basis of archival material held at two main repositories of Shōin material in Hagi itself, the Hagi Shiryōkan and the Hagi Shōin Jinja.¹⁵ These have been placed in the broader context of Chōshū and national events by reference to such tools of the historian's trade as Nihonshi Nenpyō.¹⁶

The tables are followed by a careful discussion of the main stages in Shōin's life and thought, with attention to weaving the pattern of individual and broader circumstances, and between world of action and world of the mind. In a sense, what follows is both a discussion of the two tables and an attempt to perceive Shōin in the interface between them.

14. See Bibliography.

15. Cited at beginning of Table 1, and in Bibliography.

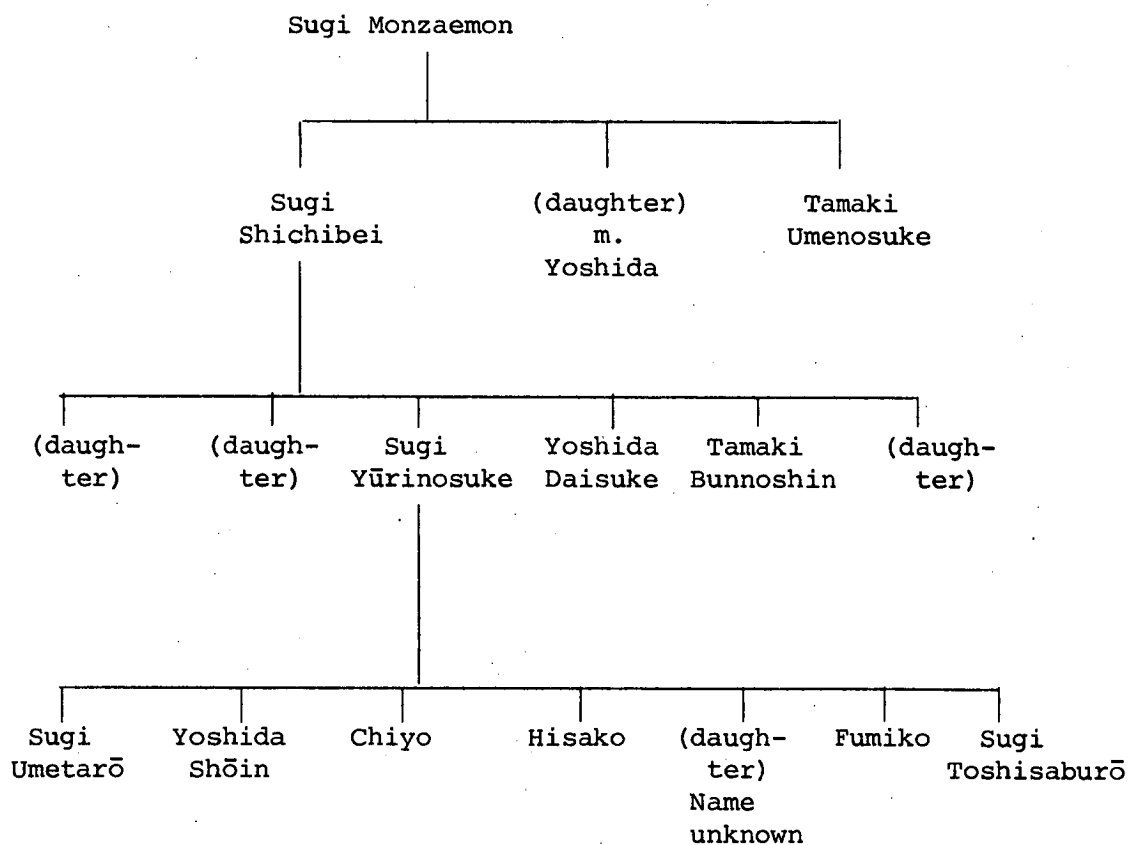
16. Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai (eds), Nihonshi Nenpyō, Tokyo, 1966.

ii. Shōin's Formative Years

Yoshida Shōin was born on 20th September¹ 1830 (Tempō 1)² in the village of Matsumoto on the outskirts of Hagi, the castle-town of the Mōri Daimyo of Chōshū (Nagato), now Yamaguchi prefecture in Western Honshu. He was the second son of Sugi Yurinosuke Tsunemichi, a samurai of 26 Koku income,³ and his wife Takiko (Table 2. Shōin's Family Tree). Shōin's name at birth was Toranosuke and his common name was Torajirō. At his formal "coming of age" as a samurai⁴ in 1838 and his official entry as a student into the Chōshū han academy for the sons of samurai, he adopted Noritaka as his samurai name although he used it only rarely thereafter. During his life time he adopted a variety of

1. Lunar months have been converted to the Gregorian calendar.
2. Shōin lived during the Nengō Tempō (1830-1844) Kōka (1844-48) Ka'ei (1848-1854), and died in the penultimate year of Ansei (1854-1860). Two emperors reigned during his life time - Ninko (b. 1800) 1817-1847 and Kōmei (b. 1831) 1847-1867.
3. *Koku*: 4.96 English bushels (weight). The official estimated rice yield measurement of land for tax purposes, *kokudaka*, in Tokugawa times was formalised after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's re-survey of national land holdings (*Kenchi*) in 1585. See further Geodertier, J. - A Dictionary of Japanese History, New York, 1968, p. 152.
4. This official attainment of personal samurai status for sons of samurai houses is called Kamishimō after the ceremonial dress and elaborate rituals involved. It is described in detail in Papinot, E.: Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon. Tokyo, 1906, p. 258.

TABLE 2.

SHŌIN'S FAMILY TREE⁵

5. YSZ 1: 69-74 (adapted). See also Huber, M., Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1982, p. 9.

literary or pen-names⁶ or *gō*, often with inferences particular to contemporary circumstances. This is true of the name Shōin,⁷ meaning 'Shadow of a Pine' which he adopted in 1852 at the beginning of his journey to the northern provinces, thereby indicating a loyalty to his birthplace, Matsumoto.⁸ It is the name which he most favoured in his mature years and the name by which he is best remembered in Japan.⁹

Sugi Yurinosuke was twenty-seven years old¹⁰ when his second son was born. Though reputedly of scholarly bent¹¹ Sugi was chiefly engaged in farming, unlike his brothers, Yoshida Daisuke Kenryō and Tamaki Bunnoshin who were both professional scholars. These two uncles were to have great influence on shaping the direction and content of Shōin's career no less than did his maternal uncle, the Buddhist priest Chikuin¹² of the Zuizenji, a famous Buddhist temple in Kamakura. This intricate but supportive pattern of such extended family

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6. Matsujirō, Hotosei, Muitsu and Matsu no Tasaburō are among such names and were used as a signature to his writings. Kwa no uchi manji was used once only, appended to the letter Shōin carried on board the USN flagship "Powhatan" in Shimoda in 1854 requesting passage to America. Nijū-ikkai-mōshi "Twenty-one times audacious samurai" was a name associated with his more flamboyant activities by popular consensus after his death but rarely in his life time.
 7. Shōin is the name used throughout this text for reasons of consistency.
 8. Matsumoto and the general physical context of Shōin's life will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
 9. The two major shrines dedicated to his memory in Setagaya, Tokyo, and in East Hagi are called Shōin Jinja.
 10. Hagi Shrine Records.
 11. Van Straelen, H.: Yoshida Shōin, Leiden, 1952, p. 17. Van Straelen, with reservations, repeats a story told by Tokutomi Iichirō that his father Sugi read continuously while going about his duties on the farm, a habit which Shōin is reported to have carried to extremes but for which there is no real evidence.
 12. Chikuin was the recipient of a number of letters from Shōin recorded in Shokan Hen no ichi and Shikan hen no ni, *op.cit.*, van Straelen, *ibid.*, p. 42.

relationships was a common usual device to secure family stability and continuance in Tokugawa times. In this case the Sugi, Yoshida and Tamaki families were closely interconnected through marriage and adoption in order to secure their respective family lines (Table 3). The great grandfather of Sugi Yūrinosuke, Shōin's father, was a Yoshida who had been adopted into the Sugi family. Yūrinosuke's uncle had been adopted by the Tamaki family. When he produced no heirs Yūrinosuke's younger brother, Bunnoshin, was adopted as the Tamaki heir. The intricate interweaving of these three families, it will be shown, had bearing on the circumstances of the formation and direction of the Shōka Sonjuku.

Shōin had a brother Sugi Umetarō, older by three years, with whom he enjoyed a close and supportive relationship all his life. There was also a sister Chiyo, the recipient of some of his most tender and revealing letters,¹³ two years his senior. Three other daughters¹⁴ were born to the Sugi parents, according to the Sugi household's genealogical table,¹⁵ about whom very little is known. It is recorded that a girl, Hisako, was born in 1839 and a second younger girl, Fumiko, in 1843. Records concerning the third are very confused. We do know that in 1845, when Shōin was already in his sixteenth year and an accredited and respected teacher at the han academy, a brother Toshisaburō, who was dumb and possibly even mentally deficient and for whom Shōin felt great responsibility, was born.¹⁶ The warmth of the feeling that existed between his siblings

13. Thirteen of these letters are preserved and recorded in Shokan Hen no ichi and Shokan Hen no ni. YSZ VIII 276-482 for complete collection.

14. These younger children are represented in the diorama of twelve stages of Shōin's life displayed in the Shōin Historical Museum in the precincts of the Shōin Jinja at Hagi.

15. See Table 2 - Shōin's Family Tree.

16. On his journey through Kyūshū in the autumn of 1850 Shōin made a special detour to the Hommyō ji temple at Kumamoto dedicated

was a constant support to Shōin, even though the rigour of his extended family loyalties sometimes weighed heavily upon him. It is interesting to note in this context the six fundamentals of the Sugi family house law which Shōin emphasizes in a letter to his sister Chiyo as worthy of strict observance throughout her life:

The law of the House of Sugi has immeasurable advantages over that of other families. It demands firstly that we honour our forefathers; secondly that we honour the gods (*kami*); thirdly that we show love to our relatives; fourthly that we study literature (concentrate on scholarship); fifthly do not lose ourselves in Buddhism; and sixthly that we practise farming ourselves. ¹⁷

Shōin is said to have rigidly adhered to the sixth injunction all his life even turning his "live-in" students out into the fields to assist in land clearance and harvesting at the appropriate seasons.

The Sugi family though of low samurai rank had both an ancient name and tradition as is evidenced by its possession of household laws¹⁸ and a prestige position in the domain by reason of its personal association with the Mōri, the domanial lord's family, and through him to the Imperial House.¹⁹ Prestige was drawn also from the teaching brief held by the head of the related Yoshida House to instruct the Lords Mōri and their samurai in the philosophy of *bushidō* (the Way of the Warrior) as defined by Yamaga Sokō in the seventeenth century and discussed elsewhere in this text. This partly explains

16. (contd) to Katō Miyomasa, in order to offer prayers for his young brother's recovery. Van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

17. Translation from the German as recorded in Dumoulin, Heinrich, "Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der geistigen Quellen der Meiji-erneuerung", MN 1937, pp. 350-377 (letter to sister, Chiyo, 3.12.1854).

18. Regulations specific to one's own house or domain were common in the Tokugawa period, reflecting to some extent the house code of the Tokugawa themselves as formulated in the Buke-shōhatto (1615) - laws governing the military households.

19. The House of Mōri is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

the ability of the Sugi household to improve its residence²⁰ on more than one occasion during Shōin's lifetime. It also accounts for the confidence with which the Hanshu, or han lord, after certain events, delivered Shōin into his father's care for reprimand and house confinement.²¹ Later in March 1843 Sugi Yūrinoshige's standing in the han was formalised with his elevation in status to master of one hundred *ashigaru* (foot soldiers) and becoming at the same time warden of thieves.²² It would seem from all accounts that a warm understanding existed between the parents and children and, as has already been indicated, among the siblings themselves. This is confirmed by records of the last night Shōin spent under his father's home in the summer of 1859 before setting out on the journey from Hagi to Edo, "The journey from which probably, for me, there shall be no return",²³ to face official interrogation before the Bakufu commissioners. A *waka*,²⁴ written during that journey has passed into national tradition as the expression of perfect filial piety.

The parents who love more deeply
than the heart of a child
can comprehend;
With what feelings will they receive
Today's tidings.²⁵

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20. For instance in 1848 the Sugis moved house to Kiyomizuguchi, a better residential area of Matsumoto-mura [Hagi Shrine Records].
21. The two most notable occasions were the one following the indiscretion of the Journey to the North without proper clan documentation (1852), the other following the abortive Shimoda Incident (1854).
22. Hagi Shrine Records do not list any resulting increase in stipend.
23. *Kaeraji to*
Omoi sadameshi
Tabi nareba
Hitoshio nururu
Namidamatsu kana
Shoken Hen no ichi, p. 205, cited van Straelen, op.cit., p. 116.
24. *Waka* a traditional Japanese poem of 31 syllables.
25. Van Straelen, op.cit., p. 106. Anthology renders this *waka* into more clumsy English. Any translation of *waka* tends to assault the meaning of this poem which is perhaps the best
(contd)

Thus it may be seen that Shōin was deeply rooted in his father's house with its strong tradition of filial piety and loyalty to the House of Mōri and the Imperial Institution and remained so throughout his life.

Another event of great spiritual and practical importance in his upbringing occurred during his fifth year (1834) when, in line with the Sugi household tradition already discussed, official arrangements were completed for his adoption as heir to his father's younger brother, Daisuke Kenryō of the related house of Yoshida. Daisuke, a samurai of 57 koku income, was a fine classical scholar and the hereditary teacher of the Yamaga School of military arts and strategy²⁶ as well as a respected staff member of the Meirinkan.²⁷ The historical links with Yamaga himself were through six generations of the House of Yoshida from an ancestor Yoshida Tomonosuke. He had been a disciple of Yamaga Sokō's son Takamoto Fujisuke who is thought to have received status as a samurai in Chōshū han and became instructor to the hanshū.²⁸ As his uncle Yoshida's official heir Shōin was thus placed in a direct philosophical and intellectual

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25. (contd) example of Shōin's skill in handling the waka form. It is reported that Shōin's confinement in Noyama Prison (1855-56) was enlivened by waka writing sessions shared with fellow prisoners through the thin cell walls.
26. Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685) to whom the formulation of bushidō is attributed, also established a special system of instruction in the arts of war based on his own profound knowledge of Chinese Classics and his conviction that classical scholarship must be adapted to suit Japan's circumstances.
27. Meirinkan, established officially in 1719 on the basis of an older association with Tokugawa policy in extending scholarship amongst the military class, was the Chōshū domain academy for the sons of samurai under the official patronage of the Lords Mōri. It is discussed elsewhere in detail.
28. This association conferred on the Yoshida family and their related Sugis an aura of tradition and scholarship. See Earl, David M., Emperor and Nation in Japan. Seattle, 1964, p. 112fn.

line with one of the most profound and revered thinkers²⁹ of the early Tokugawa period.³⁰

Shōin formally entered his uncle's household in 1835 but shortly afterwards, in the spring of the same year, Daisuke died in his twenty-ninth year. Shōin, taking the name of Daijirō, succeeded as head of the Yoshida School, inheriting its educational commitments. Shōin was considered too young as yet to shoulder these responsibilities in anything but theory and he returned to live in the Sugi household with his own parents. However, his childhood was virtually over. "Shōin had no childhood. As soon as he came to the age of Reason, he was already a man"³¹ may be an overstatement but there can be no question that his education was more intense than that experienced by many of his status level contemporaries.

In the normal course of events, had his uncle survived to a greater age, Shōin would have pursued the prescribed programme of studies at the Meirinkan which, as one of the oldest academies in the country, was conservatively grounded in Neo-Confucian orthodoxy,³² with a curriculum covering Chinese Classics, history, poetry, military history and later horsemanship and archery. He had the extra responsibility of preparing himself as an interpreter of Yamaga's

29. Shōin in his own writings claims this direct disciple relationship with Yamaga Sokō, referring to him as "sensei" almost as though he were his actual contemporary teacher.

30. Yamaga Sokō's thought and influence are discussed more fully elsewhere but it should be noted here that Yamaga Sokō's Bukyō Zenshū (1656) is generally accepted as the first clear exposition of the way of the warrior and a cohesive attempt to define the role of military class in a time of peace.

31. Tokutomi Iichirō cited in van Straelen, op.cit., p. 23fn.

32. Neo Confucian (Chu Hsi) philosophy, which was the official Tokugawa philosophy, was formulated by the scholars of the Hayashi family, particularly Hayashi Razan (1583-1657) for the establishment and preservation of the stability and unity of the socio-political order.

philosophy and the practical discipline of the Art of War. As it transpired, with the death of his uncle Daisuke the education of the young Shōin, who was already showing promise as a scholar, was greatly accelerated. Another uncle, Tamaki Bunnoshin (1810-1877)³³ undertook oversight of an intensive study programme for the period until he attained full samurai status in 1838 (Tempō 9) and entered the Chōshū han academy for the sons of samurai, the Meirinkan.

The influence of the strong personality and fine scholarship of Uncle Bunnoshin in shaping Shōin's character cannot be overlooked.³⁴ He attended the Meirinkan as a regular day boy, and continued being instructed in the private *juku*³⁵ established in his uncle's house alternating residence there with periods spent in his parent's home, a practice which continued until 1851.³⁶ The many tales of his youthful predilection for book learning have, doubtless, been vastly exaggerated in the telling, but comments in family letters³⁷ do suggest he was an exceptional student. It is, however, certain that

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33. See Table 2. Bunnoshin was a good Confucian scholar in his mid-twenties who later became famous as the instructor of a distant relative and the son of a Chōshū samurai, Nōgi Maresuke (1849-1912). This brilliant army general, hero of Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), confidante of Meiji statesmen and devoted imperial loyalist, constantly acknowledged his scholarly and military indebtedness to Tamaki Bunnoshin. We may conclude that those same qualities of excellence were inculcated into young Shōin concerning whose writings Nōgi confessed to learn by heart. Bunnoshin found the stress of the 1870s too great and died by his own hand in 1877.
34. Bunnoshin is reputed to have been fond of repeating the adage "Take the utmost care that you do not fall into mediocrity" as most early biographers such as Tokutomi are pleased to quote. See van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
35. *Juku*: a small independent school or coaching college associated with a scholar of specialist studies and frequently located in his own home.
36. In addition to Bunnoshin, the Hanshū appointed three tutors as instructors and legal representatives, viz. Watanabe Rokubei; Hayashi Shinjin; and Ishizu Heishichi. See Chronological Table.
37. Shōin's sister Chiyo is reported by one of his Japanese biographers, Kagawa Masaichi, to have commented, "I have never seen him going out for a walk..." which may be interpreted as "idling",
(contd)

habits of disciplined study were developed during this period and that he owed to his uncle's strong educational principles the firm basis of classical knowledge upon which he drew in his later thinking and writing.

In 1837, the year prior to his entering the han academy, two events³⁸ occurred which were to have immediate repercussions on Shōin's political awareness. Firstly, Mōri Yoshichika (1817-1871) was invested as Hanshu of Chōshū³⁹ despite his youth, being only twenty years old at investiture. This last Mōri daimyō was to display qualities of doggedness through the subsequent years of rapid change and show unfailing interest in, and tolerance of, Shōin. The second notable event was the return to Hagi of a han official, Yamada Matasuke, after a period of duty in Edo during which the American merchant ship 'Morrison' had entered Edo Bay seeking trade and diplomatic privileges. Its subsequent repulse by shore batteries caused much agitation in Edo which Yamada duly reported to the han authorities in Chōshū. This event marked the end of "war games" for Shōin. His uncle Bunnoshin responded to the general concern over the news of increasing Western pressure as evidenced by the 'Morrison' incident. Mindful of Shōin's responsibility as head of Yamaga military studies in Chōshū, he extended his training programme to incorporate a course in military theories of the Naganuma military arts. Shōin who was barely eight years old at the time, was forced to a conscious acceptance of his hereditary duties as head of a house and as head of a school of military sciences. Shōin's official entry into the Chōshū han academy in the spring of 1838 (Tempō 9), was

37. (contd) for he was to walk the length and breadth of Japan in the next few years. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

38. The state of the nation in late Tokugawa times is discussed elsewhere in Chapters Three and Four.

39. See chapter Three.

therefore accomplished with little friction while his concurrent 'coming-of-age' as a samurai, apart from the ceremonial functions involved, did little to change his well established daily schedule of instruction and study.

Shōin's years as a student at the Meirinkan followed the usual pattern of samurai academy education⁴⁰ except that he carried an added burden of extramural coaching, a not uncommon experience for students already marked by birth or adoption for future specialist responsibilities. He seems to have been forced into leadership situations at an early stage in his schooling, although his much reported appointment as a pupil-instructor at the age of nine years has been emphasized beyond the reality of categorization in an endeavour to illustrate his precocious talent.⁴¹ The Lord Mōri kept a supervisory eye on Shōin's personal tutors whose selection reflected changes in Meirinkan staff.⁴² Instruction in skills such as archery, horsemanship and calligraphy were added to his studies in 1841-2.

From the outset the Hanshu Mōri Yoshichika was exceptionally

40. See further Chapter Four.

The basic courses, graded progressively according to the student's year of intake, included the Four Books and the Five Classics; Chinese military classics; the study of various schools of military science in addition to his own speciality, Yamagaryū, all including some ethical teaching and defence theory and military manoeuvres. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

41. This refers to his first public performance in full school assembly and is noted in han records and all biographies including Earl, *ibid.*, p. 113, and van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 37. Earl qualifies his enthusiasm with the statement that Uncle Bunnoshin prepared Shōin's seminar paper for him.

42. Yamada Uemon was appointed personal tutor in 1839; more significantly in 1842 Uncle Bunnoshin received a contract appointment in *Kagaku* (military science) of two years duration and in the same year established his private school (*juku*) officially as *Shōka Sonjuku*, the foundation of the school which was to be made famous in 1857-8 by Shōin. Records list among the first student intake, Yoshida Daijirō (Shōin), his brother Sugi Umetarō, and four others, all local boys of little family status, viz.: Yasuda Tatsunosuke, Fukasu Tamon, Asano Ōrai, as well as Kubo Seitarō who was Shōin's cousin, son and heir of an uncle Kubo Gorōzaemon (van Straelen, *ibid.*, p. 38).

mindful of his responsibilities for the education of his samurai at the han academy which was at that time situated within the moat area of his castle, taking his ceremonial visitations to the academy very seriously. On more than one occasion his attention was drawn to Shōin who was presented as star pupil for his age group. In the sixth month of Tempō 11 (1840), on the occasion of the appointment of Asano Kogensha as tutor in traditional military studies, Shōin delivered the Presentation Lecture on "Rules of Warfare" which comprised a textual exegesis of specified sections of Yamaga Sokō's Bukyō Zenshū, a performance which, unlike his debut lecture of the previous year, allowed scope for display of his own talent both in delivery and in the give and take of question time.⁴³

In the July of 1841 on the national scene significant happenings presaged the shape of things to come. Mizuno Tadakuni lord of Hamamatsu han and advocate of stringent sumptuary laws but modification of the seclusion policy, became a member of the senior rōjū.⁴⁴ The next year a series of Bakufu Edicts initiating drastic action against merchant guilds marked the beginning of a wave of reforms designed to stabilize the economic situation. But for Shōin the same period was marked by a consolidation and maturation of his intellectual abilities and some disciplining of the "infant prodigy" tendencies previously fostered by his uncle.⁴⁵ In 1844 (Kōka gannen) he

43. Tamaki Bunnoshin was publicly complimented on his pupil's outstanding performance by the Lord Mōri. This particular incident is immortalised in one of the diorama displays of the Life of Shōin in the Shōin Historical Museum at Hagi much in the manner of Christ at the age of twelve lecturing to the scholars in the Temple at Jerusalem.

44. The Tempō Reforms associated with Mizuno's policies are discussed later, particularly in Chapter Four.

45. Tamaki Bunnoshin's personal ambitions, vicariously fulfilled in his nephew's progress, were now somewhat assuaged by his own prestige Meirinkan appointment (Kagaku Studies 1841-2), and the success of his own sonjuku.

received a merit prize⁴⁶ for a public lecture delivered in the Hanshu's presence by his special request, a philosophical dissertation based on Shichi Sho Chokkai ("Ch'ih-shu chih-chien"), a traditional Chinese text for advanced scholars. However, the more practical aspects of military studies such as the strategy and problems of defence were never far from his concern. This aspect was stimulated by the constant comings and goings from the Bakufu capital, Edo, under the sankin-kōtai residence regulations.⁴⁷ In 1844, the same year of Shōin's notable lecture, Yamada Uemon one of his Hanshū-nominated tutors, returned from Edo even more agitated by the escalation of the foreign threat. Yamada advised that Shōin should make a serious study of Mitsukuri Seigo's Konyō Zushiki,⁴⁸ a seven volume work on world geography which had recently been published.⁴⁹

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46. To mark this occasion Shōin received from the Hanshu a copy of The Seven Military Classics by Sun Tzu with a commentary by Liu Yin.
47. The Tokugawa system of regular, controlled alternative residency periods at Edo, involving both daimyo and family members, and select retainers.
48. The publication of this work was an important event marking the extension of Dutch studies beyond the more narrow confines of medicine and mathematics. Prior to this there had been no full-scale world geographical series available in print in Japan and hence little knowledge of the world beyond East and South-east Asia. Japanese map collections from earlier times were associated more with mathematical deductions and nautical skills such as navigation aids and had ceased to be available after the discontinuance of the "Red Seal" ships' journeys at the beginning of *Sakoku* (1636-9). It is reasonable to expect that Shōin was acquainted with the work of Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) Seiyō Kibun ["Memorial Concerning the West"] 1715 written in the more restrictive days before Shogun Yoshimune (1716-45) lifted some censorship restrictions on foreign books. Seiyō Kibun, however, was in three parts, of which only the second dealt specifically with geographical matters, the other two concentrating on the Sidotti affair and an investigation of the Catholic Church. See Beans, George H. - A List of Japanese Maps of the Tokugawa Period. Jenkintown, Tall Tree Library, 1951, *passim*.
49. It is likely that by 1850 Shōin was well acquainted with Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801) - Complete Map of Japan with latitudes and meridians, collated between 1775 and 1779.

The subsequent introduction to the international world by way of scientific description and analysis greatly enlarged Shōin's experience,⁵⁰ but it also increased his awareness of the need to be fully conversant with conditions in Japan. Less than six years later he was to undertake a series of journeys which far from being the "gadfly" and the adventurous wanderings of restless youth, were a coherent plan to observe for himself the state of the nation and apply principles of military defence and border strategy, learned within the limitation of Chinese classical theory, to the actualities of the Japanese situation.

It was the same Yamada Uemon who, anxious to broaden the scope of Shōin's expertise in military studies, urged he should undertake a course in the Naganuma theories on the defence of frontiers in which he already had had some experience. Following a year's intensive training under the Meirinkan instructor Yamada Matsuke,⁵⁰ he received a diploma of proficiency in 1846 accompanied by a copy of the Chōshū han "Secrets of Military Science" as a mark of his accomplishments. Some of Shōin's early biographers such as Tokutomi Iichirō suggest that he was considerably disturbed by the current rumours of Western intrusion into Japanese waters, but it is easy to over-emphasize his perception of their significance except in the limited terms of his theoretical knowledge of defence strategy. After all, up to the age of sixteen, as Earl remarks,⁵¹

50. It is possible Shōin learnt more than the theory of military studies from this particular tutor since Yamada is recorded as being highly agitated by news of the British success in the Opium Wars (1840-44).

"Lately foreign countries have made great headway and have invaded many countries of the East; very soon the poison will spread to Japan; the whole nation is greatly worried...we must make defences at all costs..."
van Straelen, op.cit., p. 38.

51. Earl, op.cit., p. 114.

Shōin had not travelled outside his own Chōshū han borders. His conception of coastal defence was of necessity, therefore, limited by his rambles along the seashore in the environs of Hagi. Signs of increasing maturity occur with his first excursion into pamphlet writing Gai'i Shōki ("Short Notes on Foreign Barbarians") and his notes on frontier defence techniques. He still spent much time studying under Uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin and coaching village children who came to Uncle Kubo's school, now the prerogative of his cousin Seitarō. By this time also since the Sugi household was under pressure with the birth of the fourth of the younger children,⁵² Shōin lived for a period in the late spring of 1846 with one of his tutors from the Meirinkan, Hayashi Shinjin,⁵³ as a matter of expediency as much as diligence in pursuit of his studies.

52. Shōin's younger brother, Toshisaburō.

53. Van Straelen, op.cit., p. 39, always anecdotal, reports that during his stay with the Hayashi family, Shōin lost clothes and a number of books in a housefire.

- iii. "What is not intended, but happens, is Heaven."
(Shōin on Mencius)

It was never more apparent than during the preparation of the Chronological Table that a chronology is merely an historian's conventional coding device, useful to substantiate the causal unfolding of events in an arbitrarily nominated period.¹ Such was the acceleration of events on a national scale after 1848-1849 and Shōin's intervention in them, that it was a difficult task to draw up an orderly continuum, as a glance at the tables will show. At this juncture each step forward seems to refer back to some special point in the past in order that the present may be clearly illuminated. Conversely, the experiences of Shōin's early life in Hagi whilst delineating significant aspects of his development, direct us forward beyond the present, into the turbulent years of the early 1850s.

It is fruitful to recall Shōin's own application of Mencian philosophy to the welter of circumstances leading to his imprisonment at Noyama in 1856 and expressed in Kōmō Yowa.² He is considering Mencius' concept of heaven as equating with an inexorable force, or destiny, which is impervious to human will, adding as his opinion

"What is not intended, but happens, is heaven.
What is not caused, but results, is fate."³

Those same inevitable, unavoidable and non-sequential events must be still faced by the historian concerned with the last decade of

1. See further, Najita Tetsuo and Koschman J. Victor, Conflict in Modern Japanese History. Princeton, New Jersey, 1982, Introduction, p. 6ff.
2. See Table 3.
3. YSZ 2:263. Kōmō Yowa cited in Matsumoto, Sannosuke, "The Idea of Heaven: A Tokugawa Foundation for the Natural Rights Theory", Najita and Scheiner, in Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, Chicago, 1978, p. 189.

Shōin's life. From 1848 until his death in 1859, the pattern of his activities alternates between periods of intense crisis and pressure which are played on the national level and those set against the softer, almost contemplative periods of writing, reading and intellectual debate in his own environment of Matsumoto and Hagi. Behind his eighteen years of moulding in Confucian piety and experience within the family group, there is a weight of tradition which does not hesitate to turn the young man Shōin round to face into the wind of historical duty and obligation. It is this force which will drive him to his death by execution for crimes against the state rather than propelling him into a promising future. In the strong lines of disciplined education there is also training in self-abnegation before the greater loyalty to emperor and state which will ultimately isolate Shōin from those minds and those people with whom he most needs to communicate:

The people of the world
May speak of me
Good or ill,
God knows
That I am sincere.⁴

Sincerity, *makoto*, the samurai's greatest virtue, and how to live by it in a world where even those responsible for the defence of the Land of the Gods do not fulfil their duties, became one of his great preoccupations. "Our defence," he wrote in another *waka* "is not the warship and the cannon, But it is our Japanese spirit (*Yamato damashii*)".⁵

Such issues provide good reasons why an examination of the last period of Shōin's life should date from 1848, the year he became an independent teacher at the Meirinkan, rather than the more commonly selected 1850 which appears to make a neat division of his thirty

4. This is van Straelen's translation. van Straelen, H., Anthology Section, *Yoshida Shōin*, Leiden 1958, p. 116.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

years into thirds. The same good reasons dictate that we should proceed from crisis to crisis rather than in a steady forward flow. Moreover the Chronological Table does attempt to juxtapose significant events on the Chōshū han and national level with those of his life with which they are interwoven, but the connections frequently require the further clarification which a chronology does not provide. We may therefore return to a closer examination of the watershed years between youth and maturity, 1847-1848. In autumn of the year 1847, he graduated at the *hei* or senior status as a scholar of great potential.⁶ Shōin's choice of Heinan Furon⁷ as the subject of his graduation exercise itself marked a new maturity in application of what had heretofore been largely theoretical knowledge in his field of military sciences. There are three possible reasons for this. Firstly he had been on an exploratory tour of the domain's sensitive coastal defence positions as far as Yuda earlier in the year; secondly, there is little doubt that educational innovations instigated by Murata Seifu,⁸ in geography, medicine and the military arts, had stimulated much activity among academy staff and senior students.⁹ Finally the intensity of national problems were brought home to Shōin personally when Yamada Uemon, one of his most respected tutors

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6. Shōin was at the forefront of both academic and military exercises whenever the Hanshu, Mōri Takachika, daimyo from 1837-1871, made his official visits to his han academy. Mōri took his duties as Visitor to the Meirinkan very seriously despite his reputation as lacking in both erudition and leadership. Craig, op.cit., p. 114.
 7. See Chronological Table of Major Writings.
 8. Craig, op.cit., p. 132.
 9. Murata Seifu, appointed Financial Adviser to the han in 1838, is seen by Craig as a "hard" or austere reformer. He was concerned less with rhetoric than with the actual mechanics of government. As an extension of the Tempō Reforms, he established a position of Official-in-Charge of Western Books in 1847.

to whom reference has already been made, was put in domiciliary confinement in 1847. Yamada's carefully prepared memorial to the han authorities on the need for the introduction and training of western style rifle units in Chōshū was judged as being "disruptive" (See Plate 32).¹⁰ For Shōin, interest in geography was not new but its relevancy to his inherited field of expertise was now more sharply focused. As early as 1846 he had collected together all available maps of the Chōshū provinces and prepared a commentary on the various topographical features and their relationship to defence projects.¹¹

The New Year of Ka'ei Gannen (1848) marked a new phase in Shōin's life. He was appointed to the Junior Faculty at the Meirinkan with his own allocated students in the advanced military sciences. He had however certain independence in planning his research programme, and duties at the academy were adjusted to permit extensive travel. He was also appointed to certain minor clerical and administrative posts at the castle to which he now had easy access. In other words, Shōin was being groomed for office as a samurai at a level more commensurate with his talent and traditional family connections than with his actual status as heir to an inherited 57 koku annual

10. It is interesting to note that there was provision for extensive upgrading of the practice rifle range on the new Meirinkan site, to be in use in 1849. Note also Craig's discussion of this incident in the context of han politics in Craig, Albert M., Chōshū and the Meiji Restoration, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961, p. 134.

11. Iwane Tamoshige, "Yoshida Shōin no Chiri Gakkan" in Yamaguchi Ken Chihō-shi Kenkyū Pamphlet No. 4, Yamaguchi-Ken Chihō-shi Gakkai, October 1960, pp. 21-25 for a discussion on Shōin's geographical perceptions. Iwane also notes that Shōin, in the course of preparing Ikensho (1848), a position paper on naval strategy for the daimyo states that it is essential for soldiers to understand geography in order to understand military strategy (p. 20).

income, a practice becoming increasingly common in late Tokugawa times.¹²

Shōin's new maturity and status were marked in 1849 by an event of more significance to his future career than the appointment to the Meirinkan staff, at the same time as his elder brother Umetarō had become a resident scholar. This staff appointment involved Shōin in the general planning of building allocation, curriculum proposals and theorizing for the new Meirinkan, now in the final stages of an extensive building programme on a site towards the centre of the town.¹³ This proposed move from the limited location within the castle precincts established in 1719, involved far more than classroom extension and more spacious exercise halls (Plates 34 and 35). As a continuation of the educational reforms initiated by Murata Seifu under the Tempō Reform programme, and discussed elsewhere in this thesis, it involved a radical reconsideration of the purpose and philosophy of education. It has been argued that Shōin's educational theory and practice at the level of radical reform were developed by 1848,¹³ It is more realistic to suggest that as a junior instructor he reflected the impetus for change current in Chōshū at the time. His subsequent writings indicate that his systematic philosophy of education was fully formulated only within the context of the Shōka Sonjuku experience.¹⁴ He had written and circulated in April 1848 a somewhat

12. Smith, Thomas C., "'Merit' as Ideology in the Tokugawa Period" in Dore, R.P. (ed.), Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, Princeton, N.J., 1967, pp. 71-90. Smith uses the term 'merit' for qualities of intelligence, wisdom, understanding, humanity and courage considered by Tokugawa writers to fit men for office, (p.271,fn.), an idea at variance with the Confucian concept of social hierarchy.

13. Huber, op.cit., p. 43.

14. Earl, op.cit., p. 310, for example, writes that his ideas on the purposes of education contained in an 1856 opinion paper "reflected his experiences during the last three years" (i.e. as recently as 1853).

wordy position paper "Meirinkan osaikō ni tsuki kizuki sho",¹⁵ which was not unlike a class paper. His Ikensho, however, presented to the Hanshu in October of the same year, was a more mature paper concerned with the implications of the move on academy management, curriculum reorganization and the minutiae of disciplinary measures. There is no documentation to prove that Ikensho was solicited either by the daimyo or the academy principals. On the other hand, neither is there justification for attributing excessively critical or radical intentions to its composition as does Huber in Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan. Huber finds "dim outlines of an immense social struggle"¹⁶ embedded in the text no doubt. He states elsewhere that Shōin was motivated to present "bold reformist designs by collective self interest...and by patterns of idealistic social commitment",¹⁷ issues which will be examined in detail later in this text. In fact much of the Ikensho text in its draft directives on organization and behaviour, bears a striking resemblance to those comments interspersed through his sober Kōmō Yowa (1856) with its precise textual exegesis of Mencius' writings. It reflects moreover, innovatory moves already taken under Murata's initiative in 1840¹⁸ to open the academy

15. YSZ I 221-43.

16. Huber, Thomas M., Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1981, p. 42.

17. Ibid., p. 52.

18. Craig, Albert M., Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration, Cambridge, 1981, p. 58. However, Huber in seeking the revolutionary origins of modern Japan, chooses to ignore Murata Seifu's contribution to the Chōshū han reform programme and to the Meirinkan in particular, by removing him from these contemporary developments. Shōin, Huber asserts, drew heavily on the "reformist ideas" of the generation immediately prior to his own, with some of his recommendations for remedying institutional ideas being "similar to those made in the 1830s by the noted Chōshū reformer Murata Seifu", op.cit., p. 67.

facilities to samurai previously excluded on grounds of low rank, and to give experts in various fields from other han visiting faculty appointments.¹⁹ Ikensho is best seen as the response of a young academic, conscious of his new status, to a challenge to which he believes it was his duty to respond, contributing to its future development from eleven years' personal experience of the institution and its educational practice.

There is no evidence to suggest that Ikensho made any contribution to the form of the Shin Meirinkan after 1849, nor whether Shōin's contribution was considered either interesting or remarkable. It is noteworthy, however, that in the following year Shōin was instructed by the Hanshu²⁰ to prepare plans for a familiarizing visit round the nearer Chōshū coastal defence position which included the strategic base of Akamaseki (Shimonoseki) (Plates 2a and 3b) on the straits between Honshu and Kyushu. Shōin was to have little more than eighteen months' experience as a staff member of the Shin Meirinkan and its upgraded facilities. Following his lord's injunction, he began to plan an extended educational travel programme of which the first step was the writing of a formal letter of application to the minor Lord Hayama of Hirado, seeking permission to study under an old scholar of Yamaga military studies in his domain. During the next three years this travel programme was to interrupt Shōin's teaching experience at the han level but gained for him a wider knowledge of the land and its defence capabilities. In its initial stages the

19. Craig, op.cit., p.60. Under the same reform programme schools were established in districts outside Hagi where samurai were living, and a school for samurai in Edo on han business was opened in the grounds of the main Mōri mansion in that city.

20. This interest and patronage conferred on Shōin by the Lord Mōri was to continue even after Shōin's later activities may have been seen to have threatened the relationship.

programme involved two journeys only, one of six weeks' "travel around the bays",²¹ and the better known "Journey to the West"²² which lasted for three months exactly from the first day of November 1850, interspersed with periods of intense teaching. In a series of lectures on castle defence delivered shortly after his return from his first excursion, he seems to have so demonstrated his professionalism that Lord Mōri (Tachika) enrolled in a course in Yamaga military studies under Shōin's instruction²³ from which he successfully graduated early in 1851. Shōin's lecture on Sun Tzu and the Art of War on March 15th confirmed the Hanshu's opinion. He was directed to join the daimyo's entourage for the obligatory *sankin-kōtai* duties at the capital, and on May 6th left for Edo via the Nakasendō.²⁴

The Journeys:

At this point it is necessary to leave the simple chronicle of Shōin as a young samurai of promise in a tōzama domain and launch into what Geertz²⁵ calls "thick" history. Through such an approach it is possible to experience something of Shōin's philosophical and spiritual journey which was to parallel the physical journeys of epic

21. Table 2. This journey is recorded in Shoin's Kaiho Kiryaku (1849).
22. Table 2. Saiyū Nikki (1850).
23. Lord Mōri Takachika was 32 years old at the time. He graduated successfully.
24. This was the alternate Central Alpine route to Edo which entered the Kanto region via the Nagano area, avoiding the important crowded Tokaidō highway. However, it was a more hazardous and less comfortable journey and the various tōzama were directed to use this access route to remind them of their status.
25. Geertz, Clifford, The Interpretations of Culture, Basic Books, New York, 1973. In this study the author discusses the contribution of personalities which are "possessed by spirits of change before changes become visible in the public arena" (p.9). He continues inter alia to discuss the point that a fact which is historically understood is one withdrawn from time and examined politically, socially and intellectually in a context of simultaneous occurrences.

proportions which were soon to follow. The first short excursion in the summer of 1849 was part of a familiarizing programme round the strategic defence positions on Chōshū's coastline and made at the behest of his Hanshū. Thereafter Shōin himself chose to extend the programme and in doing so he created a series of alternatives which forced him to depart from the directions laid down by his physical and intellectual context. Having reached a high level of scholarly acceptance in his hereditary career path in the traditional han educational structure, Shōin made a decision to undertake the physical and intellectual exploration of a nation at crisis point. Hook's hypothesis, discussed earlier in more general terms, that there comes a moment of departure for the 'event-making' man, has a precise, even literal, focus at this point in Shōin's life. The journeys considered together (Plates 3b through 3e) constituted some of the most significant high points of the last decade of his life. They provided the experiences from which he formulated his mature thought on the relationship of national polity to foreign encroachment, and of traditional philosophical formularies and their application to the unprecedented contemporary circumstances. Above all, the physical journeyings and the men with whom he shared them, clarified the alternatives in his own mind.

Shōin traversed more than eleven thousand kilometres of countryside in the course of his travels, mostly on foot. He travelled in Kyushu, in Bōsō and environs of Edo such as Izu-Shimoda and Kamakura. He moved north through the Tōhoku region and modern Aomori, around the Kinki area and the wide eastern peninsula to visit the Ise shrines, some of these areas several times. He carried little more than replacement straw sandals at his belt and brushes and paper rolls for the writing of his copious notes and diaries of which it was his custom to

keep two - one to record his private thoughts and one the public diary proper to the Confucian scholar with its observation and studied philosophizing.²⁶ Each journey had its own special flavour and importance. However in all his travels, according to local accounts,²⁷ Shōin maintained a high level of excitement and curiosity, plumbing water depths round the coastline and making notes on anchorages and port facilities. Nature, history, legend, folklore and tradition, all came in for comment and assessment but his profound conviction that Japan must be fully and competently prepared to defend herself against potential enemies, is often expressed.²⁸ He travelled still as the Chinese classical scholar and military defence expert and all it meant in the way of training and discipline.

An examination of the attached maps (Plates 3a through 3e) together with the appropriate Chronological Table entries (Table 1) for the period 1849 (Ka'ei 2) to 1854 (Ansei I),²⁹ will facilitate the comprehension of the physical and mental endurance required for such an undertaking in nineteenth century Japan. The maps taken together provide the merest skeletal outline of a prodigious project, with only the routes and centres of important experiences and contacts marked.³⁰ They should be considered against the map showing the intricate network of domains (Plate 3a). It is well to bear in mind

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26. Much of his writing has been preserved but it is understood a great deal has also been lost. Saiyū Nikki, Tōyū Nikki and the more extensive Tōhokuyū Nikki and listed in Table 3 of this thesis.
27. Field trip observations.
28. Tanaka Shunsuke, Ishin no sendatsu: Yoshida Shōin, Hagi Shōwa 42 (1967), p. 27.
29. A period of enforced residence in Edo (prison) and Hagi (domiciliary confinement) between May 1852 and March 1853, interrupted these journeys.
30. The return journeys are indicated on the maps by reverse arrows from the point of commencement in order to simplify the presentation.

the political kaleidoscope of the bakuhan system in the later Tokugawa period and the terrain of beauty and hardship confronting the traveller. Furthermore, the boats which plied the coastal routes between Sakai (Osaka), Kyushu and Hagi were neither large nor particularly sea-worthy,³¹ and the climate of Japan in winter is such that the domains of Echigo, Iwashiro, Mutsu and Dewa are known as *Yukiguni*, the "Snow Country" (Plate 3a). Shōin made his famous *Tōhokuyū* in the winter months of 1852, returning to Edo on 24th May at the end of the late northern spring (Plate 3c).

For Shōin the journeys which commenced with the six weeks' visit to the nearby bays and islands of Chōshū, broke the strictures of the rigidly controlled and limiting han education³² and exposed him to the mainstream of Tokugawa intellectual life. Here it is necessary to retrace our steps to July 1849 when, obeying Lord Mōri's injunction, Shōin set out to inform himself about the nature and condition of important strategic defence positions on the domain's coastline at Susa, Otsu, Toyo'ura and Akamaseki. Biographies and Shōin's own notes list Toyo'ura as a place at which he made a brief stopover. However, only Shōin's writings³³ mention the island of Futaoijima,³⁴ famous for

31. Ships' tonnages were carefully minimized under the Seclusion Edicts of 1635 and 1639 in order to control both coastal trade practices and eliminate any possibility of the building of ocean-going vessels.

32. This is meant in relative terms only because, as described above, Chōshū han education had already undergone some radical change during the Tempō period.

33. YSZ IX : 17

34. See Plate 3B. There is no separate map for this journey. Futaoijima is 3km x 1km approx. 8km east from Toyo'ura and 20km north-west from Akamaseki. Population records are meagre but interesting.

	Households	Persons
1610	15	not known
1739	19	121
1858	18	124
1868	19	-
1874	23	-
1881	29	167
1980	45	150 (contd)

the rough surrounding seas and the fact that, lying eight kilometres east off the south-western tip of Honshu, Futaoijima is therefore the point of the Chōshū domain most proximate to Korea and the Asian mainland. High on a cliff above the shallow harbour facing seawards, the local fishermen and their families have erected a stone monument inscribed with the words "Yoshida Shōin: Ka'ei 2". They tell a visitor with pride that in that year 1850, Shōin and a friend Kompira³⁵ of whom little else is known, visited this tiny wind-raked island for two weeks. On the bluff where a lighthouse was built in 1912 and the coast of Kyushu may be seen on a fine day, Shōin and his companion studied and wrote, and Shōin is said to have spent many hours gazing out across the sea towards Korea. Shōin made this disproportionately long visit of two out of the allocated six weeks' tour in November. From this writer's experience the wild, cold weather experienced in that month is scarcely conducive to long periods of inactivity out of doors. It is therefore profitable to ask why a young samurai on his first study tour away from home should find this island of such great interest.

One reason which may be advanced in explanation of Shōin's absorption with Futaoijima is that its Korean orientation appealed to his historical sensibilities. Much of the traditional Japan-Asian

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34. (contd) In 1980 it boasted a population of 150 but there were only 9 primary school children being educated on the island. All other young people go to the mainland to school, the girls especially rarely returning to live in the one village. Access is by fast motor boat from the port of Yoshimi, an average fair weather crossing taking 25 minutes. Even today the island *ben* has readily identifiable corrupt forms of Korean words. A unique tradition of folk tales and work songs are carefully preserved. Japanese students of linguistics are sometimes summer visitors on Futaoijima, but no foreigners.
35. Mombishi(n), a common given, but more likely, nickname is attributed to him but there are no family records of such a person. He was perhaps a student from Hagi.

interchange has been through the Korean Peninsula, a fact known to Shōin who had been well instructed in Japan's legends and history.³⁶ Another equally convincing reason may be that the location of this small offshore island lying in the straits between Chōshū and its neighbouring domains in Kyushu, and between Japan and the Asian continent, challenged the instinct and training Shōin had received in military strategies and defence. If this last were true, then time itself has proven his instinct sound. Today there is an establishment of the Japanese Naval Self Defence Force in the port of Yoshimi from which a ferry service plies regularly to Futaoijima from Honshu.³⁷ Daily coast guard self-defence ships may be seen patrolling the same waters which Shōin and his friend Kompira watched from their vantage point on the bluff.

This visit to Futaoijima is a little remarked episode in the life of Shōin, yet in its style it foreshadowed many such moments which occurred during the course of his later journeys round Japan and which he describes in his diaries. To mention just two is sufficient in this context - one was the visit to Sadogashima, the other his reactions at his first sight of foreign ships in the Tsugaru Straits between Honshu and Ezo (Hokkaido) (Plate 3c).³⁸ This last indicated his continuing fascination with national history and his increasing awareness of

36. From the end of the first century BC until the reign of the legendary Empress Jingū (AD200-269), the southern Korean Kingdoms of Silla, Paechke and Koguryo had maintained close ties with the Yamato state. Mimana, a small central province close by, was under direct Japanese rule until AD562. Moreover Asian Buddhism entered Japan via the Korean peninsula and there were many Koreans as well as Chinese among the priests, artisans and craftsmen who immigrated to Yamato under the stimulus of Prince Shōtoku's reforms in the sixth and seventh centuries.

37. Field trip observations.

38. YSZ 10.285-6. Tōhohokuyū Nikki discusses his reactions at some length. Earl, op.cit., pp. 117-118 notes his increasingly sophisticated comment on the Russians and the possibility of their cultural absorption into Japan. "So the barbarians too are equally men... and Chishima and Karafuto as well must become the same as these

Japan's place in a wider world³⁹ already suggested of his Futaoijima visit.

Shōin's twenty-first year (1850) was a busy one.⁴⁰ Successful military exercises conducted at Hagadai, east of Hagi-jō, after his return from the field trip of the previous year, had further enhanced his reputation in han circles. Lord Mōri now encouraged him to prepare for a tour of the Western Kyushu domains, primarily to increase his expertise in Yamaga military science but also to broaden his knowledge of Japan. Hirado han, on an island of that name in the extreme north-west of Kyushu, had a centre for military studies under the direction of a descendant of Yamaga Sokō by the name of Yamaga Bansuke. Unlike the excursion of 1849 this journey, recorded in Saiyū Nikki,⁴¹ was to take Shōin beyond his domain and begin the process of enmeshing his life into national events.

1850 was an equally significant year for Chōshū han. A major reform programme in the areas of land, harbour works and commercial enterprise had been initiated under the general supervision of a newly established office for loans and savings (*buikukyoku*). The idea of one central domanical control of economic problems was not new. What was new was the idea, now put into practice, that central management could contain the overblown and escalating han debt. This move to dominate problems of the economy by institutional means rather than constant strictures on samurai income with backlash on merchant's money holdings - that is, the institution of the *buikukyoku* itself, is seen

38. (contd) five villages (of Ainu)"(p.118). Between November 1849 and February 1852 when he was in northern Japan, Shōin had observed and experienced a great deal more of his nation.

39. Shōin's evolving philosophy of state is discussed in Chapter Four.

40. See Chronological Table entry for 1850.

41. Table 3.

by Craig in the long term as the one single most important factor contributing to Chōshū's "financial leeway" in the Bakumatsu period.⁴² Shōin's experience in minor appointments at the castle clearly did not expose him to such matters of high administration as he makes no such reference in his writings.

Similarly Shōin appears to have been little concerned about affairs at the Bakufu capital, including the increasing intensity of the Seclusion Debate,⁴³ except in the most theoretical terms. In Edo growing agitation over foreign incursions into Japanese waters was exacerbated by the presence of Commodore Glyn and USN 'Preble' around Naha in the Ryukyu Islands (Satsuma han) and Nagasaki. Glyn, apparently undeterred by the rude treatment meted out to his fellow American Commodore Biddle in 1846,⁴⁴ was pressing for the repatriation of fifteen shipwrecked foreign seamen (presumably Americans) reputedly under guard at Nagasaki.⁴⁵ In some quarters at the Tokugawa capital, agitation about these matters was expressed in a demand for stricter enforcement

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42. In other words the head-start in the Bakumatsu interhan power struggle which required not only men but money to purchase advanced western style arms and military equipment. Craig, op.cit., pp. 43-48.
43. See further de Bary *et al.* (eds), Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. II, New York and London 1958 (paperback edition 1964), Chapter XXIV, "The Debate over Seclusion and Restoration", pp.84-130.
44. Commodore Biddle USN with two men-of-war 'Columbus' and 'Vincennes' had been rebuffed at Uraga in July 1846 when he sought to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Bakufu. He had been despatched to the China Seas in 1845 following a Senate Select Committee decision "to effect commercial arrangements with the Empire of Japan". Murdoch, James, A History of Japan, Vo. III, London 1926, p.570.
45. Glyn returned to Washington on 30th May 1851. There he sought official permission to return to Japan on a diplomatic mission, backed by a naval force. Whereupon the Dutch envoy to Washington assured Secretary of State Webster there would be no change in Holland's policy of maintaining special rights in Japan. This initiated a series of decisions by which Commodore Aulick of the China Squadron had a licence both issued and revoked, to negotiate and sign a Treaty with Japan. On 24th March 1852 a certain Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry USN was appointed to command the East India Squadron, and a reluctant Perry inherited Aulick's original commission. Ibid., pp. 569-662. inter alia.

of the Expulsion Decrees⁴⁶ against foreigners and a hardening of the lines of argument concerning the Sakoku policy itself. On these matters the han bureaucracy would be fully informed through its Edo establishments⁴⁷ although Shōin makes no direct mention of them in his writings. With his eye set on the immediate goal of improving his knowledge of traditional military studies Shōin left for Kyushu in the autumn of 1850.⁴⁸

In the course of the next eight days during which Shōin was absent from Hagi,⁴⁹ he travelled into Kyushu by way of Akamaseki. The main centres he visited were of course Hirado and Nagasaki, passing through Kokura, Saga and Omura en route to the west coast and returning via the seventeenth century areas of Christian concentration round Amakusa and Shimabara. He stayed six days at Kumamoto with its prestigious private academy, Shōnandō,⁵⁰ and equally famous concentration of

46. *Uchi harai rei* (1825). The strong exclusionary terms of this decree had been ameliorated by direction of Rōjū Mizuno Tadakuni in 1842.
47. Mōri han maintained three extensive establishments (*yashiki*) in Edo. The Mōri kami-yashiki, the most important complex dating from 1652, was situated on the Sakurada slope to the immediate west of Edo castle next to the great *yashiki* of the tōzama Lord Date (Mutsu/Sendai, 625,600 koku). Its site, just outside the *Sakurada mon* in present day Kasumigaseki, gave it an excellent surveillance potential over the activities at the castle. Its lecture hall, Bummu Kōshūsho ("place for study of literary and martial arts") was shortly to be moved to Hagi and, as the Yubikan on the new Meirinkan campus, is the only Edo building extant on that site. From Suzuki Susumu (ed.), Edozu byōbu, Tokyo Heibonsha, 1972, p. 88, for description of plans of Mōri Edo kami-yashiki.
48. Shinagawa Yajirō and Yoshida Kōso (eds), Yoshida Shōin Yūreki ("Index of Yoshida Shōin's Travel Diaries"); Tokyo, Meiji 13 (1883), in Nihon Jumbutsu Bunken Mokuroku, Tokyo, 1974, pp. 1151-1154, contains the first known attempt at chronological listing of Shōin's travels.
49. This journey to the West is traced on Map 3c, and described in Shōin's Saiyū Nikki, YSZ X: 19-99.
50. The Shōnandō was established in 1843 by the scholar Yokoi Shōnan (1804-1869) for the encouragement of the study of Western political and economic conditions, and a serious confrontation with spiritual aspects of Western scientific culture. See further Harootunian, H.D., Toward Restoration, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1970, pp. 334-6.

imperial loyalist enthusiasm, then to Yanagawa and Kurume before crossing by ferry back to his own domain. Everywhere he received hospitality and made contact with like-minded samurai, some of whom like the young loyalist scholar Miyabe Teizo of Kumamoto, were to be of great importance to him in later years.

In the planned schedule for the Kyushu tour there had been no significant allocation of time for a stay at Nagasaki and Shōin seemed to have been less impressed by this cosmopolitan city than might have been anticipated, considering the times and the increasing interest in the West. He duly visited the official residence of the Dutch factor on Deshima, the man-made island control point for overseas traffic; likewise the Chinese resident officials in the Chinese compound on the shores of Nagasaki Bay where he took some desultory lessons in Chinese conversation as he did in Dutch. He made no attempt, however, to immerse himself in Dutch studies apart from talking with the interpreters⁵¹ and going on board a Dutch ship where he inspected the mounted guns and other military equipment with great interest. His diary reflects no untoward excitement nor depth in this Nagasaki experience.⁵² This may be attributed to his youth and inexperience in what amounted to foreign travel though Earl states unequivocally that Shōin's interest in Western technology dated from this time.

It was the visit to Hirado which elicited Shōin's most enthusiastic response but not for the anticipated reasons. He found the discourses on Yamaga Sokō's thought by the old scholar, Yamaga Bansuke, tedious. However he read Haisho Zampitsu ("Autobiography in

51. Goodman, Grant Kohn, The Dutch Impact on Japan (1640-1853), pp. 33-40 traces the history of the interpreter families.

52. Earl, op.cit., p. 114, dates this visit as after the Hirado stay. The actual timing is unimportant.

Exile"),⁵³ sometimes called "the heart blood of Sokō's life"⁵⁴ which he borrowed from the extensive library of the Lord Hayama Sanai. In fact he spent much of his prolonged stay of fifty days in the reading room of the Hayama yashiki overlooking the harbour at Hirado-ura where boats from the mainland dock even today. He read avidly books on a wide range of subjects, copying or making notes of a number of them.⁵⁵ They included such subjects as wars in the West, geography, Chinese culture, and monographs on Ō Yōmei⁵⁶ offering alternatives to the official Chu Hsi philosophy of state.

Keen student and reader notwithstanding, Shōin was also aware that in Hirado he was physically closer to the worlds of China and the Western barbarians than he was in his own domain. Moreover, the cumulative effect of his readings and travels to this point no doubt stimulated questions concerning the state of Japan's preparedness to face a changing world. He was also becoming increasingly aware of the demands that contemporary conditions would make on samurai trained as he was in traditional methods of defence strategy. The south-western provinces of Japan had from earliest times, a reputation for laying stress on the importance of sea warfare. It was something of this that Shōin had in mind, at least in retrospect, when he recalled in 1856

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53. Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685), Haisho Zimpatsu is Yamaga Sokō's last great work. In it he describes his intellectual development through Neo-Confucianism to a rediscovery of the authentic roots of Confucianism and Shinto. Extracts of the Haisho are to be found in de Bary, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 395-400.
 54. Tokutomi Iichiro, trans. Coleman, op.cit., p. 139, Earl, op.cit., p. 142, note it as an important influence on Shōin's later thinking. Van Straelen, op.cit., p. 51, compares it with Shōin's Ryūkon Roku in style and content.
 55. Van Straelen, op.cit., pp. 76-80 in the chapter "The Reader and Traveller" makes much of this habit, no doubt basing his comments on Kagawa Masaichi, Yoshida Shōin (p.51), bibliography van Straelen, p. 138 (no annotation).
 56. The Japanese reconstruction of the Chinese Wang Yang Ming School of independent and intuitive thought.

the positive impression Hayama Sanai had made upon him. He had found Lord Hayama to be a man of advanced ideas and adaptable mentality. These qualities, he believed, the samurai would need in the course of any reappraisal of their traditional role in the context of the new situation prevailing in the 1850s.

The other day one of my acquaintances visited me and said: A bakufu order for the defence of the coast has been in force for some time. They are building fortresses...and hold military manoeuvres in order to train soldiers....They say they are occupied in building a ship (in Obata-ura). But soldiers who are not accustomed to sea warfare cannot make use of a ship.

Shōin then continues with a reminiscence about his visit to Hirado:

A certain man called Hayama Sanai who has a high income and who is a man of high rank and more than sixty years old, goes to the minister on a horse instead of a sedan-chair, and occasionally goes fishing on the high seas. He tells me always if one does not use a horse or a ship for a long time, then one experiences difficulties if something unforeseen happens.⁵⁷

In the early summer of 1851 Shōin left Hagi as a member of the entourage accompanying the Mōri Hanshū to Edo on sankin-kōtai duties. The route of this journey to the East as described in Tōyū Nikki⁵⁸ and lasting from May to July 1851, with side trips to Kamakura, Bōsō *hanto* and round the Sagami Bay coastline, is marked on the map Plate 3c. It was followed by a period of residence at the capital before Shōin left on his journey to the north-east⁵⁹ at the end of the year. Before his return to Hagi his perspective on Japan would have broadened to embrace most of the domains of the north and east and much of the

57. YSZ III: 117-119, Bukyo Zensho Koroku. Trans. in this respect van Straelen, op.cit., pp. 99-100.

58. Tōyū Nikki listed by Shinagawa and Yoshida eds, op.cit., as one of the major journeys and recorded in Shōin's "Diary of a Journey to the East", YSZ X: 129-137.

59. This journey is also traced on the map.

physical configuration of Japan.⁶⁰ He would have met many of the outstanding scholars of his day, and he would have lost both his freedom and his samurai status and income.

Shōin's journey to the east and north began in low key as part of the regular and obligatory duties of the daimyo on a visit to the Tokugawa jōkamachi. The stated purpose of his own participation was to increase his expertise in the field of strategic defence studies. The journey up to the capital took the daimyo train through the mountain defiles of the home domains to the hinterland of the Inland Sea, part of the greater Mōri domainial spread before the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600.⁶¹ It skirted Kyoto at Fushimi and swung over the central alpine way through Shinano⁶² and so down to the Kantō plain. The stop-over to pay homage at the mausoleum of Kunosoki Masashige on the banks of the Minato River where the *bujin*⁶³ ended his life by seppuku and thus entered the ranks of the Emperor's immortal men, is well documented.⁶⁴

The part of the journey through the inland province of Shinano and the han of the Lord Sanada Yukitsura of Matsuhira would gain in

60. Plate 3c.

61. See further below Chapter Three.

62. Present day Nagano. See Plate 3a.

63. *bujin* 武人 traditional military man of high status.

64. Earl, *op.cit.*, p.113 draws the conclusion that this incident confirmed Shōin's passionate imperial loyalism. One might venture the opinion that Shōin merely found the moment exciting historically and appealing to his sense of adventure. See YSZ X: 135-137. Concerning *ibid.*, Nankō or Kunosoki Masashige (1294?-1336) he was a charismatic and brilliant samurai whose example is synonymous with the highest standards by which all Japanese samurai and fighting men are to be judged.

Draeger, Don F., "Brigand or Patriot" in Murakami Hyoe and Thomas J. Harper, Great Historical Figures of Japan, Tokyo, 1978, pp. 113-122, quotes his seppuku to assuage his guilt in the face of certain defeat as a confirmation of a statement made four years prior to his death "...as long as you hear that Masahige still lives, be confident that your sacred cause will prevail", as the ultimate expression of loyalty, p. 122.

significance in the following years. Sanada Yukitsura, a Matsudaira as second son of Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829)⁶⁵ had, by reason of this blood line, been appointed to the position of senior councillor responsible for the defence of the nearer bays and coastline in 1842, an increasingly critical time for such an appointment. Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864) was his most trusted advisor. A fine Confucian scholar and brilliant mathematician, Sakuma was also a senior and respected proponent of western scientific and Dutch studies by the time Shōin made his first visit to Edo.⁶⁶

Once in residence, Shōin pursued his primary aim of improving his military scientific expertise. He therefore contracted to attend two or three times a week the lectures given by Yamaga Sōsui, the master of the Edogaku of Yamaga studies. However, in order to avoid over-specialization he enrolled in a course in literature given by Asaka Konsai (1785-1865) who was responsible for the literary studies undertaken at the teaching centre at the Chōshū kamiyashiki in addition to his duties as a lecturer at the official Bakufu ideological power house, the Shōheiko.⁶⁷ He made some effort to take up Dutch language studies which he had commenced at Nagasaki but made little headway with the project. Nor was his first tentative approach to Sakuma Shōzan concerning

65. Ooms, Herman, Charismatic Bureaucrat: A Political Biography of Matsudaira Sadanobu, 1758-1829, Chicago, 1975. Grandson of the eighth Tokugawa shogun Yoshimune, Sadanobu had become adopted heir of the Matsudaira Hisamatsu house of Shirakawa, a *kamon* or daimyo related to the Tokugawa house of whom there were only about twenty in all - hence his pre-eminence in bureaucracy as *rōjū* during the Kansei reforms in the 1790s. Appendix A, pp. 155-160.

66. Sakuma Shōzan's Eight Point Programme (1842), was the basis for shogunal policy on foreign affairs, stating his adherence to Sakoku bolstered by the introduction of Western technological developments, was the direct result of Sanada's appointment, whose advisor he was.

67. Also known as *Daigaku*. This institution was the high standard but conservative Confucian academy for the training of top level administrators and the setting of standards of ideology and scholarship among all samurai training colleges.

attendance at his *juku* where Western studies were taught,⁶⁸ very successful. Shōin was less than enthusiastic and Shōzan by all accounts unimpressed by the young samurai from Chōshū.

Soon after the arrival in Edo Shōin had resumed his own teaching commitments including lecturing twice a month at the han academy to any Chōshū samurai who, like himself, were 'up at the capital' and to guests or visitors of the Hanshū; once at least he lectured before the Lord Mōri himself.⁶⁹ But over and above the planned courses and official duties, he seems to have derived most stimulus and benefit from lessons under the fencing master Hiraoka Yasube and from the cross fertilization of ideas which occurred round the popular fencing halls of Edo between samurai of many different han. Earl suggests that in part due to this association and in part because of the experience of listening to the lectures of famous scholars, Shōin's interest in historical studies greatly increased at this time.⁷⁰ For whatever reasons, with Miyabe Teizo of Kumamoto who was also attending the lectures on Yamaga studies, Shōin began planning a visit to Mito for later in the year.

Shōin's maternal uncle Chikuin was a Buddhist priest at Suisenji, a famous temple in Kamakura. Early in July he visited Chikuin with whom he established a close rapport. This was to develop through visits and letters into a supportive relationship which lasted throughout the remainder of his life. Shortly afterwards on July 12th,

68. Of the three possible locations of this academy and the residences Sakuma Shōkan is reputed to have used, either the one in present day Akasaka or the one near Roppongi junction, would have been convenient to the Mōri kamiyashiki. All traces of these establishments disappeared in wartime devastation.

69. The subject was "An Enquiry into the duties of the subject (to lord)". See Chronology.

70. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

Shōin and Miyabe took ten days from their duties in Edo and inspected the whole Sagami Bay coastline, Shōin taking notes on harbour defence installations and making calculations as he had done along the Chōshū coastline two years previously. It was no doubt during this long ramble along the coast in high summer that the two friends completed their planning of the journey through the northern domains because immediately after their return, Shōin applied to his Hanshu for the documentation necessary for such an extensive project. Together with Ebata Goro, another young samurai who had personal reasons for travelling north in addition to the common-familiarization programme of the well-educated samurai, Shōin and Miyabe planned to leave for the north late in the year after a stay in Mito, sixty-three kilometres north-east of Edo towards the Pacific seaboard.

This journey described in great detail in Shōin's journals⁷¹ and traced on the map Plate 3c, was to be a long and arduous one. It was planned to commence with a significant visit to Mito, the jōkamachi of the Tokugawa *go-sanke*⁷² Nariaki, and home base of the Mitogaku, the long established school of historical research and imperial loyalist philosophy. The particular pressures of Ebata's schedule⁷³ required that Shōin and Miyabe meet him on a certain day and at a certain branch road, a fact which fixed an absolute departure date at a very inauspicious time of the year insofar as the onset of

71. Tōhokuyū Nikki ("A Diary of a Journey to the North East"). Contains much material for further research. YSZ X: 187-328.

72. *Gosanke*, the three collateral houses of direct Tokugawa lineage, from which heirs to the shogunate might be selected should such a necessity arise. Lord Nariaki at this time, because of forthright intervention in Bakufu policy-making in the 1840s, was living in forced retirement in the Edo Komagome yashiki. His son assumed full daimyo status and responsibility in 1844.

73. Ebata believed he must avenge a brother's death by accomplishing the elimination of his enemy on the anniversary of the death of the famous loyal forty-seven samurai of Ako in 1703.

the northern winter was concerned. It was an even more inauspicious date for Shōin because he had not yet received the necessary official han travel permit verbally granted earlier in the year. Faced with a decision between the alternatives of loyalty and obligation to a brother samurai and duty to obey han rules, Shōin made his choice in favour of the former in expectation that the visa would be forthcoming, rather than in response to an anti-establishment impulse often attributed to him. The expected permission did not, in fact, eventuate and the decision would cost Shōin that which he prized most highly, his samurai status and his future prospects. Notwithstanding, shortly before New Year of 1852, he set out across the Musashi plains for Mito and his rendezvous with Miyabe and Ebata. At the time he did not see it as a major crisis or turning point in his life though much would later be made by commentators of this "audacious act". He is credited with observing-

Even though I must give up my clan income⁷¹
and throw away my samurai title, the work with
which I shall recompense my country is more
than fighting over the keeping of empty rules.⁷²

Biographers have always laid great stress on the importance of the Tōhoku journey, both because of the enlightenment which must have accrued from such extensive travels through domains so different from Shōin's native Chōshū, and because of the stimulus which clearly resulted in the reshaping of his philosophy of state. The journey proper, after a fruitful stay in Mito and the technical hitch of a missing visa, commenced on March 15th 1852. Miyabe Teizo accompanied him throughout the journey. Ebata Goro for whom in the last count,

71. *Bōtei*, the act of giving up samurai income and status, was a recognized action of weighty intent in Tokugawa times, and in certain recognized circumstances. See further Tokutomi, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 143, cited but unidentified.

he sacrificed so much, left them at Shirakawa and pursued his own concerns. The route took Shōin and Miyabe through Aizu, and and Niigata on the Sea of Japan coast to Sadogashima, the island of historical exiles, northwards through Akita, Hirosaki and Aomori in the Matsumae domanial lands bordering the Tsugaru Straits, and south-eastwards through the great castletowns of Morioka, Sendai and Yonezawa to Nikko, home of the spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and so to Edo arriving on 23rd May (Plate 3c).⁷³

There are few other periods in Shōin's life in which the same incidents yield so much grist to so many of the mills of interpretations discussed in the chapter "History versus the Historian". Imperial restorationists linger over his visit to the island of Sado, place of exile to famous political and spiritual exiles like the Buddhist priest Nichiren (1222-1282), but more significantly place of enshrinement and renewal of the spirit of Emperor Juntoku who died in exile there in 1242.⁷⁴ Revolutionists see Shōin already marked as a political rebel, kicking over the traces of bureaucracy and establishment and leaving the Tokugawa rule by status to look after itself whilst he makes his own rules of conduct. The economic historians, for their part, dwell on the desperate plight of the domains of the north, such as Nambu and Sendai, dogged by bitter winters, failed crops and decimated population, through which he walked, always noting down his careful and detailed observations.⁷⁵ The Marxist and revolutionist historians alike derive satisfaction from his "shedding of his coat"⁷⁶ in order to make a brief descent

73. See Tōhokuyū Nikki ("Diary of a Journey to Tohoku"), YSZ X: 187-328.

74. Earl, op.cit., p. 117 fn.

75. Recorded in Tōhokuyū Nikki, op.cit.

76. YSZ 1: 256-2. "Shedding of his coat" as a samurai metaphorically speaking, by undertaking an alien activity, or perhaps a euphemism for "putting on protective clothing".

down the Sadogashima gold mines and "inspect conditions".⁷⁷ They see this as evidence of his concern for workers.⁷⁸ There is certainly scope for both expansionist and xenophobic schools of Interpretation to draw ample evidence from his much discussed reactions to conditions through Akita, where rural poverty touched him deeply as did his first inspection of Ainu villages.⁷⁹ They lean heavily on the reaction to his first sight of foreign ships as he stood on the shore at Tappizaki watching their frequent passage through the Tsugaru Straits, shared by earlier scholars like Honda Yoshiaki (1744-1821) who was a native of this area. Honda was a samurai of the north-western han of Echigo and was very conscious of Japan's northern aspect.⁸⁰ In 1798 he wrote

How may Japan become the greatest nation in the world....She would move her capital to the country of Kamchatka. She should build a great stronghold on Saghalien...

and further

The key to colonization is to establish a system with long-range objectives as to future profits and loss....There have been Russian officials in the islands inhabited by the Ainu since about 1765. They have displayed such diligence in their colonization efforts that eighteen or nineteen Kurile Islands...have already been occupied.⁸¹

Shōin's stand might as readily be attributed to growing *jōi* convictions.

77. Ibid.

78. Huber, *op.cit.*, p. 14, who might be considered in this category, however, merely attributes it to a desire on Shōin's part to see how the great Sado gold mining operations were carried on, an interpretation which is more realistic.

79. YSZ X: 285. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 118, notes Shōin's comment on the apparent Japanization of the Ainu people and the indication it gives that "if by training they can be transformed in this way, Chishima (the Kuriles) and Karafuto (Sakhalin) as well must become the same as these five villages".

80. Keene, Donald, The Japanese Discovery of Europe 1720-1830, rev.edn., Stanford, California, 1969, p. 91.

81. de Bary, Wm. Theodore, Sources of Japanese Tradition, Vol. II, New York and London, 1964, p. 50 and p. 55.

In short none of these arguments can be denied on the basis of selected evidence. It is, however, important to bear in mind that a fascination with Japan's coastline and offshore islands on Shōin's part, had been demonstrated during previous journeys, and sites of historical tradition had nourished his sense of history. Together they provided him with as much food for thought as any philosophical study, and at this point in his development there is no real indication that there had as yet been any line of demarcation drawn between learning and politics, not even during his more acute social observations in Nambu. His basic thinking is firmly stated thus:

What I mean by the pursuit of learning is not (merely) the ability to read classical texts and study ancient history but to be fully conversant with conditions all over the world and to be keenly aware of what is going on abroad as well as around us.⁸²

To return now to certain other aspects of the journey which were significant in this learning process, it must be remembered that it was a more ambitious venture than Shōin had undertaken previously. Not only were the distances to be covered very great and the terrain mountainous and diverse, but the economic problems facing the rural population in the wake of a long series of bad harvests and slow recovery were very severe. Distant and different from Chōshū they may have been, but in composition and wealth all four han were of similar great status and power. Three were *tozama* han, viz. Akita, Morioka and Sendai, while the lord of the fourth han, Aizu (Wakamatsu), was a *kamon* and a Matsudaira related to the Tokugawa House. In fact in wealth and influence, the *tozama* Date of Sendai with an annual assessable income of 625,000 koku, outclassed the Mōri

82. YSZ IV: 115. Two years later Shōin still adhered to this principle in his explanation of motives supporting his plans to go abroad for study. See also de Bary, Vol. II, op.cit., p.113.

by more than 250,000 koku in hierarchical rank.⁸³ Impressive and sophisticated though the castletowns of these han were, the region had had a long history of agrarian discontent and desperate poverty dating as far back as the years of famine in the Tenmei era (1781-1788). The labour force had been greatly decimated at that time, as also the magnificent stock of breeding horses for which the mountain villages of Nambu had been famous since the Nara Period (710-794), and neither had since been fully reconstituted. The horse fairs of Nambu which caught Shōin's interest⁸⁴ were nevertheless much smaller in scale than at any time in their history.

There was a further factor contributing to the generally depressed state of the rural sector in parts of Aizu and Sendai which it would be surprising if Shōin had not related to his observations of the Tsugaru Straits. In 1802, under new directives promulgated by the Bakufu to counteract Russian encroachment in northern waters, the House of Matsumae had lost its administrative control over eastern and southern Ezo (Hokkaido). At the same time a Hakodate *būgyō* (commissioner) was appointed to supervise affairs in that area. In 1808 two thousand samurai were seconded from the han of Aizu and Sendai, for the purpose of staffing and maintaining the Ezo defence system, their expenses to be borne in perpetuity by their sending han.⁸⁵ This placed an added and crushing burden on the rural areas, already hard pressed by a succession of excessively cold seasons and

83.	Castletown of domain.	Land assessment	Daimyo family
	Akita	205,000	Satake (tōzama)
	Morioka	200,000	Nambu (tōzama)
	Sendai	625,000	Date (tōzama)
	Aizu	230,000	Matsudaira (Kamon)
	from Beasley, W.G., <u>The Meiji Restoration</u> , Stanford, 1972 (Preface).		

84. YSZ X : 290-91.

85. Murdoch, Vol. III, op.cit., p. 436ff.

bad harvests, and disturbed the population balance to an unexpected degree.⁸⁶ All these circumstances continued into the 1830s and created a ground swell of agrarian discontent which reached its peak less than a year after Shōin and Miyabe had passed through the countryside. Commencing in May 1852, it took the form, not of rice riots, but of a long march or exodus of sixteen thousand peasants from their villages making their way east across Nambu lands into neighbouring Sendai. This expedition had been planned during a ten year campaign by a village headman named Yagobei who is reported to have personally visited six hundred and thirty-six villages in nine districts, talking to fellow countrymen and discussing plans to alleviate the extremity of their suffering. The cruel conditions as well as the vigour and solidarity of the people must have made a strong impression on Shōin.⁸⁷

In the long view, however, it was the visit to Mito han in January preceding these journeys through the northern domains, which was to affect Shōin's life and thought most deeply. He was already interested in the search after Japan's historical roots, and now the exposure to the high scholarship and keen historical perceptions of the *Mitogakusha*⁸⁸ was a very satisfying one. At the time he was quoted as saying "Until now I did not know why Japan was *shinshū* - the land of the Gods. The Mito gaku have taught me so".⁸⁹ During his stay he received generous hospitality from several Mito samurai

86. See further unnamed article "Iwate: A Cold and Hungry Summer", *The East*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1976, pp. 37-52.

87. *The East*, *ibid.*, p. 42, notes that some eight thousand of the original marchers safely reached Sendai and settled there permanently.

88. The scholars associated with the Mitohai's academy and historical research and philosophy. See also Table 4.

89. Cited in van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 21 fn. from Tokutomi, pp. 161-2.

including Ezawa Yasushi, and daily attended lectures at the Kōdōkan, the han's academy, the centre for national historical studies and home of imperial loyalist rhetoric. Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1862) who had been the Kōdōkan's first principal after its upgrading in 1841⁹⁰ received Shōin privately a number of times, developing the theme of his lectures at the Kōdōkan. These lectures summarized the Mito philosophy of the particular and distinctive nature of all things Japanese based on the historical truth of the "Heavenly Sun" succession.⁹¹ For Shōin who had first read Aizawa's Shinron ("New Proposals") during his stay at Hirado, this personal contact with the eminent scholar consolidated his own concepts of imperial theory.⁹² The Mito visit meant also some experience of the involvement in national affairs which this gosanke⁹³ domain had as a matter of status, even though the former Hanshu Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860) was in now compulsory retirement at Edo and permitted only thrice-monthly visits to Edo-jō.⁹⁴ Moreover the escalating intensity of the debate on the Seclusion policy had an added reality for Mito scholars since Aizawa's Shinron (1825) had been written in direct

90. The new Kōdōkan in expanded premises and with a restructured curriculum began lectures on the new site in 1841 by direction of Tokugawa Nariaki, the Hanshū (1800-1860).

91. From this point in his thinking Aizawa drew the distinctions between superior and inferior ruler and ruled, and defined the *Kokutai* philosophy of Japan. See de Bary, *op.cit.*, p. 88 and Earl, *op.cit.*, Appendix D, pp. 236-239. "To conceive of the Emperor as standing alone without the existence of the people is impossible, while to conceive the people as separated from the Emperor is likewise impossible", cited *ibid.*, p. 238.

92. See Chapter Four: "Concepts".

93. Mito han, as one of the three designated main branch families of the Tokugawa, provided the last Tokugawa Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (Keiki) in 1867.

94. Nariaki's eldest son was now hanshū. Nariaki, as correspondence quoted elsewhere in this thesis reveals, maintained unofficial but close contact with men of affairs at Edo. In 1855 he was back in favour and present once more at the palace for consultations every second day. Murdoch, *op.cit.*, p. 619.

response to the increasing foreign presence in Japanese coastal waters, culminating in the incident of the British Sailors of 1824. In the summer of that year (Bunsei 7) twelve foreigners, later proved to be British sailors, had landed from a ship stranded on the eastern coast of Mito at Ōtsu, a small port between Chōshi and Itako (Plate 3c).⁹⁵ "The crew landed at Ōtsumura and attacked and robbed the people and threw the people into confusion", quotes Lanman.⁹⁶ The agitation and consultations resulting from this event and the sailors' subsequent detention were never forgotten.⁹⁷ Extracts of an interview between two Mito interpreters named Aizawa Seishisai and Tobita and the foreigners, tells of the reactions on shore.

On 1st day, 6th month (Bunsei 7) we started for Ōtsu. After arranging ourselves in battle array we marched on with guns loaded and rope matches ready....At the same time a courier came from Mito to the censors (*metsuke*) with a message that a minister...and attendants are being despatched....A ship coming from Chōshi arrived at Hirakata and the sailors said that they had seen forty (foreign) ships on the way.⁹⁸

The report as quoted by Clement includes the interpreters' pithy comment that:

We can not, however, fail to be surprised at the intelligence displayed by the Japanese and the ignorance displayed by the foreigners. The latter,

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95. I have no doubt that this was the reason why Shōin, in a brief preliminary visit to Mito in December of the previous year, had walked with Miyabe around this stretch of the Mito coastline looking at the bays and military installations.
96. Lanman, Charles, Leading Men of Japan, Boston, 1883, p. 33.
97. Clement, Ernest, "Mito Samurai and British Sailors in 1824", Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 33, 1905, pp. 86-109, makes this revelatory nature of the contact clear. The twelve or fourteen sailors were kept for several weeks in a coast guard house and the reality of the foreign threat was brought home in the quietest possible manner.
98. Ibid., p. 103 and p. 109. Clement quotes W.E. Griffis' remark that when the Northern Pacific was found to be so fruitful "the whaling industry increased mightily" and notes that eighty-five "black ships" were counted in the shipping channels off one point near Mito in one year. Ibid., p. 87.

of course, may not have been men of a class expected to be well posted on current history and politics, while the former were *samurai*, a well-educated class. 99

Such was the background of Mito at the time of Shōin's visit in 1852.

It was at the Kōdōkan, however, and among its scholars that Shōin spent most of his time. His own castletown of Hagi was a beautiful, effective *tozama jōkamachi* but the han academy for all its modern facilities,¹⁰⁰ could not boast the long-established, nationwide reputation enjoyed by the Mito Kōdōkan (Plate 3a). Even after Shōin's three months' experience in Edo, the impact of this huge educational complex must have been striking. As a staff member on leave¹⁰¹ from his own han academy, he would have been interested in the design and planning of the Kōdōkan and the functioning of the various technological developments associated with its re-establishment. Such observations would later be translated into Shōin's educational practice, though he was never again to have opportunity to apply them to the Meirikan nor the scope to develop new ideas on this scale in the Shōka Sonjuku.

The Kōdōkan had been resited in 1841 on an area of 54,000 *tsubō*¹⁰² in the centre of and slightly above the well planned Mito *jōkamachi*, opposite to the castle complex (Plate 3a). Its main gate was proximate to the *ōtemon* or main gate of the castle, with ready access to the *honmaru* or inner precinct by a bridge over a very deep moat (Plates 40 and 41). The Kōdōkan, built in the palatial mansion style

99. Ibid., p. 98.

100. Shin Meirinkan re-established in the centre of Hagi in 1849 is discussed in Chapter Three. See also Plates 32, 33 and 34.

101. Shōin's decision to flout his han rules had not yet been taken nor his appointment withdrawn.

102. *tsubō*, also 1 bu or 10 gō: 3.305 square metres, or 3.952 square yards.

of late Edo architecture, was presented in two massive blocks.¹⁰³ Its main entrance or *genkan*, facing the academy entrance gate and the castle (Plates 42 and 43), was simple but also very spacious, and designed to accommodate simultaneously the formal comings and goings of an impressive number of people. The two blocks of buildings contained lecture halls and audience chambers, together with guest and retiring rooms and a limited fire station facility (Plate 44). The main audience hall or *hiroma* opened directly from the *genkan* and was vast but deceptively restrained in design. It was decorated only by a large *Kanbun*¹⁰⁴ inscription, consciously archaic, indicating erudition in a visible form, and an exquisite set of silk *fusuma*¹⁰⁵ on the *chigaidama* or decorative shelves (Plate 45). To one side was the deep *tokomoma* or alcove inlaid with a lavish display of choice matched timber brought from various parts of Japan. It was in this *hiroma* that Shōin first listened to a lecture delivered by Aizawa Seishisai.¹⁰⁶

The main complex was flanked by samurai barracks, outside galleries for tournaments, and exercise halls for fencing and other martial arts. There was provision of stabling for a large number of horses, and there were service buildings positioned at a discreet distance in the rear. Most importantly, there was also a separate building housing the library and research activities associated with the ongoing historical project, the Dainihon-shi ("History of Great

103. Much of this Kōdōkan complex was destroyed by enemy bombing during the latter months of World War II. The main lecture hall and *genkan* alone escaped damage. It has been restored as a building of Historical Importance and an Historical Museum added. Architectural details and most of the information contained in this section were gathered during field trips and from the Kōdōkan Historical Collection.

104. *Kanbun* (*Kambun*): Ancient Chinese classical calligraphy.

105. *Fusuma*: sliding door.

106. Field trip observations.

Japan"), in which scholars of the han had been engaged since 1657.¹⁰⁷ Most notably, from Tempō 12 (1842), long range rifle butts were ready and operating for practice by samurai students in western style musketry utilizing the newest version of the smooth-bore musket (Plate 47), and there were illustrated instruction manuals available.¹⁰⁸ The immediate setting for the complex of main buildings and support facilities was a parkland with plum tree gardens in which there were a number of guest houses with water views for the retreat and recreation of prestigious scholars and guests of the daimyo of Mito.¹⁰⁹

Such enthronement of scholarship must have struck Shōin forcibly, sensitive as he already was to the vast range of historical knowledge and his own ignorance of it. In 1851 he had expressed such an idea in a letter to his elder brother Sugi Umetarō prior to his departure on the journey to the north-east. A fresh appreciation of Japan's history, he said, was the most exciting thing that had happened to him since his arrival at the capital. This was due in large part to the opportunities Edo offered of hearing discourses by famous scholars and discussing them with his fellow samurai. It also made him acutely aware of his own lack of knowledge and scholarship in this field, and determined to do something about it.¹¹⁰ As has been discussed above

107. The *Shōkōkan* or domain-sponsored historical office was established by Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700) in 1657. According to John Whitney Hall its first 250 chapters were completed and published by 1720. The final volumes were not published until 1906. Hall, John Whitney, *Japan from Pre-History to Modern Times*, Tuttle edn, Tokyo, 1970, p. 217.

108. The detailed nature of this instruction manual illustrated in Plate 47 is indicative of the long-term experience in the use of this weapon on the part of the han instructors, and the number of samurai involved.

109. The same plum gardens have been extended and incorporated into the *Kairaku-en*, the famous Plum Gardens of the modern city of Mito where some relicts of these guest houses and gates are still preserved.

110. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 116, fn. 2, refers to this letter to Sugi Umetarō, dated Ka'ei 4.8.17. It is printed in full in YSZ VIII: 65-70.

Shōin's stay at Mito was planned for this purpose.

Four months later on 24th May 1852, Shōin reached Edo via Nikko, ending his journey to the north-east. He stayed briefly at the home of Toriyama Shinzaburō,¹¹¹ a loyalist friend of Miyabe, and discussed the best procedures in the matter of his breaking han laws on travel permits. On 29th May he presented himself at the Mōri kamiyashiki, requesting suitable punishment for his offence against his lord. He was immediately detained pending a han decision on his misdemeanours, and from that moment, his freedom to act and live fully as a samurai ceased.

111. van Straelen, op.cit., p. 42.

iv. "I am a creature of the Emperor"

Shōin's Last Words¹

From the time of Shōin's return to Edo after his journey to Tōhoku until his death in November 1859, a period of seven and a half years, Shōin would know only sixteen months of freedom. The frantic activity with which he filled those sixteen months during which American ships were in Japanese ports and all daimyo in crisis consultations, however, was not the freedom he had once enjoyed on his rambles round the coasts and bays and on his first visit to Edo. As a *rōnin*, a samurai without clan status, he had to find a new role and a means of expressing it at a time when it was least possible to form balanced judgments. For the rest, he would spend two years in detention in Noyama or Denmachō prisons, and the remainder in domiciliary confinement in his family home at Matsumoto. But it was in those years that he attained his greatest intellectual and spiritual freedom, clarifying his concepts of duty and obligation between lord and subject, ruler and ruled, and expressing them in his writings and teaching. His whole life became dedicated to one thought - Japan. *Waga Nippon wa shinkoku nari* ("Our Japan is a holy land").² The maintenance of national independence and uniqueness of the people in the face of foreign threat became inextricably linked in his mind with the idea of Emperor.

1. See Chapter Five.

2. The most famous saying of the fourteenth century Shinto apologist Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354). Kitabatake in *Jinnō Shōtōki-Ki* ("Records of the Legitimate Succession") defines the true nature of the Imperial Institution in a time of crisis and the uniqueness of the country and people. His theories were the basis for Tokugawa imperial theory. "Japan is the divine country. The heavenly ancestor it was who first laid its foundations." de Bary, *op.cit.*, p. 268, and Webb, Herschell, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period*, New York and London, 1968, pp. 164-168.

After surrendering his freedom to Chōshū officials at the Mōri main residence, Shōin was held there until 9th June when authorities ordered him to return to Hagi and to place himself in the custody of his father until such time as the Hanshū made a decision concerning his future. Once back in Matsumoto Shōin had time not only to consider the serious nature of his crime, but in familiar surroundings to ponder on the issues of history, politics and the national estate to which he had been exposed during the previous two and a half years. He sought also to make reparation for the dishonour he had brought on his family, by conforming strictly to the rules of house detention and by participating in the teaching programme being conducted by his uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin. He also undertook to give basic instruction to neighbourhood children who called at the house.³ Something of this re-affirmation of filial piety and roots in the family's scholarly profession is reflected in his adoption at this time of "Shōin" as a penname meaning "in the seclusion or shadow of the pines", a reference to the name of his village and his position under restraint.⁴ Most of the diaries, jottings and learned commentaries which now flowed from his pen were signed with the name "Shōin".⁵

In the discussion on Shōin's journeys an effort has been made to examine the expanding scene through his eyes, placing emphasis where he lingered, in an effort to correlate his philosophy and new knowledge with the realities of the contemporary situation. By the summer of 1852 the focus is once more on Hagi and the short breathing space it

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3. These two aspects of his teaching are discussed in detail below in Chapter Four.
 4. Shōin, see title page. A discussion of Shōin's life long attachment to the village of his birth, Matsumoto, and his typical scholarly love of word play is contained in Chapter Three, p. 5.
 5. See Chronological List of Shōin's most Important Writings for 1852.

afforded before the known and stable world of Tokugawa Japan yielded to the importunities of the West and entered a period of crisis politics, taking Shōin with it.

The first crisis for Shōin, no less catastrophic because he had prepared himself for it, was the bringing down of the official han judgment on his action of flouting its laws. On 19th January 1853 Shōin's name was struck from the Chōshū han register and he lost both his samurai title and his inherited 57 koku annual income. More difficult to bear was the decision to dismiss him from his appointment at the Meirinkan as a professor of military science, and the termination of his position as advisor to the Hanshū in Yamaga military studies. Shōin was now officially a rōnin and remained so for the rest of his life.⁶ This categorization, far from freeing him from feudal restraints, tightened them under the permanent guardianship of his father. At this time the Sugi household was faced with further disruption by another move to a residence in Shindō, a newly developed housing district within the Matsumoto boundaries.⁷ Even when, shortly afterwards, Shōin was released from domiciliary confinement and given a ten-year study and travel scholarship by Lord Mōri, whose respect for Shōin's intellectual excellence remained undiminished, he was still technically a man under restraint.

Six weeks later on 7th March 1853, Shōin left Hagi for Edo, a more seasoned and more determined man. He was also more aware of the increasing crisis in the capital where Tokugawa Ieyoshi (1793-1853) had just died and where hurried defence installations were being flung up along the nearer coastlines. On 6th April, moreover, as the

6. See Chronological Table for year 1853.

7. HSR do not specify why this move was made but there is no indication that it was related to Shōin's activities in any way.

Dutch factor was to inform the Bakufu, the American East India Squadron arrived at Hong Kong. While Shōin was making his leisurely way through Sanuki, Settsu and Ise via the Nakasendō to Edo (Plate 3d), the American fleet was proceeding across the China Seas to the Ryūkyū Islands where it dropped anchor at Naha on 23rd May.⁸

This second journey to Edo where Shōin was based until December 1853, was accomplished partly by boat through the Inland Sea and partly by foot as was customary.⁹ He reached the capital on the first day of July. On the 8th July, Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry USN sailed into Edo Bay with four vessels - two frigates and two sailing ships, and anchored off Uragahama. Perry carried a letter from President Fillmore to the shogun which stated:

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your imperial majesty's dominions.¹⁰

This restraint Perry was somewhat reluctant to accept as binding. Beasley suggests it was partly due to the fact that Perry shared, or rapidly acquired, "China Coast prejudices" about the role of force, or threats of it, in oriental diplomacy.¹¹ Perry made his own position clear in his covering letter delivered to the shogun simultaneously with that of the President.

Many of the large ships of war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though

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8. Murdoch III, op.cit., p. 575.
 9. It is reliably reported that Shōin regularly walked 28 Km in a day. See further Tanaka Shunsuke, op.cit., Introduction.
 10. A letter of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, November 13, 1852 (and delivered to Shōgun Iesada on 11 July 1853, from Meiji Japan Through Contemporary Sources, Vol. Two, 1844-1882, compiled and published, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1970, Doc. IIA, p. 9.
 11. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., p. 88.

they are hourly expected, and the undersigned, as an evidence of his friendly intentions, has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing should it become necessary, to return to Yedo in the ensuing spring with a much larger force. ¹²

Hawks recorded in the Expedition's official log his hopes that the Japanese authorities would see light sufficiently to avert "unfriendly collision between the two nations", ¹³ a hope which Tokugawa Nariaki of Mito did not share. ¹⁴ In his official memorandum to the Bakufu he outlined reasons why the policy of peace must never be chosen. He states unequivocally that

...should the Bakufu not expel these insolent foreigners root and branch, there may be some who will complain... asking to what purpose have been all the preparations of gun emplacements. It is inevitable that men should think in this way when they have seen how arrogantly the foreigners acted at Uraga. ¹⁵

It has been popular of late for scholars to downplay the crisis-nature of Perry's arrival in the interest of a more balanced approach to the issues involved in the enforced 'opening' of Japan by a foreign intruder. Certainly the element of surprise insofar as the Japanese were concerned was far less evident than is sometimes depicted. ¹⁶ But

12. Ibid., p. 101. Commodore M.C. Perry to His Imperial Majesty, Emperor of Japan, 7 July 1853.

13. Hawks, Francis L., Expedition to Japan performed in the years 1853 and 1854. New York, 1856, pp. 258-259.

14. Beasley, op.cit., p. 101.

15. Beasley, op.cit., p. 105. Document 3 Nariaki to Bakufu, pp. 102-107. Nariaki reminds the Bakufu that the defence of Uraga district was in the hands of Hikone and Wakamatsu fiefs and that Aizu retainers had already been posted at shore batteries, ibid.

16. Tones, Robert, The Americans in Japan, New York, 1857, p. 130. Tones notes in the journal entry for 4 July 1853: "Off O(h)sima; the fleet had its first glimpse of the Japanese coast near I(d)zu Promontory." He goes on to comment how disturbed people on shore must be. On the other hand, residents of Shimoda were observing the fleet from shore. "The ships came nearer and nearer, until the shape of the ships told us they were not Japanese ships but foreign ones... There was excitement all over town, and what with a report being dispatched to the government office at Nirayama and special messengers being sent hurriedly up to Edo, there was a great uproar." Cited in Statler, Oliver, The Black Ship Scroll, Tokyo, 1963, pp. 8-9.

for the people in Edo and the districts of Kanagawa generally, and for the majority of samurai like Shōin, the actual and visible presence of the foreigners, and the protocol involved in the official exchange of documents on 14th July at Kurihama, caused incalculable confusion.¹⁷

Shōin who had reached Edo less than a week prior to the first sightings of Perry's fleet, stayed with his samurai friend Toyama, thus being in touch with the more vigorous and politically interested loyalists at the capital. A few days afterwards he paid a courtesy call on his priest uncle at Kamakura. He had already made more formal contact with Sakuma Shōzan whose juku he had been attending in a desultory manner before his departure on the ill-starred journey to the north-east. Shōzan, twenty years Shōin's senior and an experienced scholar and polemicist in Dutch scientific learning,¹⁸ had not been favourably impressed by the young Chōshū samurai on that first occasion. He seemed however, to gain a very different impression of the more mature and sharper image Shōin projected after his experiences of the previous two years, and spent some time discussing current affairs with him. Shōin, for his part, was deeply affected by his reception and is reputed to have called him 'my father' and 'my teacher' in later years.¹⁹ Much of Shōin's subsequent activities are best

17. Beasley, op.cit., p. 89 cites Satow, Japan (1853-1864), p.4. "The city of Edo and surrounding villages were in great tumult; in anticipation of the war which seemed imminent, the people carried their valuables and furniture in all directions..."

18. Sakuma Shōzan was proficient in the Dutch language. He also had access to one of the best collections of Dutch writings on Western military science in Japan at that time held in the library of his Hanshū Sanada of Matsushirō. Chang lists forty titles which Shōzan had read and studied between 1844-1851 in addition to his various advisory responsibilities since Sanada was lord director of coastal defence systems around Edo. Chang, R.T., From Prejudice to Tolerance, Tokyo, 1970, p. 107.

19. Huber, Thomas, Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1981, p. 12, states that Shōzan was the only man that Shōin called 'my teacher', but in fact he used that same euphemism for Yamaga Sokō whose intellectual disciple he was.

understood in the context of this relationship.

On his return from Kamakura Shōin found the capital full of rumours of impending war and conflicting reports of the arrival of Perry's ships. He found Sakuma Shōzan and some of his students had already left for Uragahama and hastily set off himself, joining them on 9th July at a neighbouring hill defence position overlooking the beach at Uragahama. From this vantage point they observed firsthand the movements between the ships and the shore. For Shōin, the whole question of loyalty to emperor and efforts in defence of the country became, not indeterminate problems for future settlement, but burning issues of the here and now. As his visits round the Bōsō and Kanagawa coastlines with Miyabe had already alerted him to the technological poverty of the defence installations, so the first sight of the American ships with their clearly discernible gun mounts²⁰ made him painfully aware of the foreigners' scientific superiority. Shōin was still at Uraga when the official documents were exchanged between representatives of the Bakufu and the Americans at Kurihama on 14th July.²¹ The next day, much agitated by the public debate and his own observations, Shōin returned to Edo.

During the next two months it was as if the nation had exploded round his head. The coming of Perry's fleet, which was a point of high drama for Japan and its future course, coincided with the high crisis point for Shōin and his choices, and his interlocking into national affairs was complete. His decisions would not affect the national policy-making, but the effect of his personal involvement even on the

20. Shōin made meticulous detailed drawings of these ships and guns in his notebooks.

21. Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources, op.cit., pp. 9-16.

periphery of events, was to have incalculable repercussions in the future through the lives of other men who would be policy makers. Shōin remained in Edo, and in between earnest consultations at the Azabu yashiki of Shōzan, now a meeting place for samurai loyalists, he wrote several memorials and position papers,²² all in the mode of "I presume to present my personal opinion" and "An absolutely necessary private opinion", two pamphlets which marked the beginning of a flow of similar writings on the duties of subjects in a time of national crisis. At the same time translations of the American letters were being circulated through the great councils of the Bakufu, and to the lords of all domains not customarily involved in the decision-making processes, seeking opinions on the seclusion issue and the proper response to the Americans on their threatened return in the spring of 1854. As is well known, consensus was not reached and despite a negative response from even the Imperial Court, little difference to the Bakufu's plans were made as a result of the consultations. However, orders were given for the strengthening of coastal defences, and the Bakufu accepted a naval training ship together with augmented facilities for instruction at Nagasaki, and placed a substantial order for armaments to be sent from Holland. In the capital there was much excitement among the samurai and preparations for the war expected in the coming spring, while Shōzan's juku had a considerable increase in enrolments from young samurai wishing to be trained in western military practice. Shōzan himself was vocal concerning his opinion of the 'American barbarians' whom he had seen at Uraga.

22. See Chronological Table 3.

Shōin, encouraged by Shōzan, presented these pamphlets to the Mōri Hanshū. He was declared presumptuous for acting thus while under clan judgment, but the lord did receive his opinions nevertheless.

Their deportment and manner of expression were exceedingly arrogant and the resulting insult to our national dignity was not small.²³

And further in the same paper he wrote concerning a visit he had made around the coastline prior to Perry's arrival:

In the course of this trip, I stopped at about ten places where barricades had been set up in preparation against invasion from the sea... Without any real effort, these foolish walls and mock parapets have been thrown up high above the surface of the sea, only to display to the foreign nations our lack of planning.²⁴

Since Shōin saw Shōzan as 'an extraordinary man of heroic proportions' to whom he could relate²⁵ and had shared the same experiences in the summer of 1853, there is little doubt that he shared these ideas.

The events of the next six months in Shōin's life are such that he is sometimes likened to the proverbial gadfly darting hither and thither across the country with no apparent purpose, taking small and ineffectual bites at anybody with whom he came in contact. From Edo he went to Kyoto and Nagasaki, and thence back to Hagi for a New Year visit to his family, and back to Edo, coming to rest finally in a *butabakō* or prisoner's cage²⁶ at Shimoda in Izu, in April 1854, after an abortive attempt to go abroad with the American fleet (Plate 3e). This same period is also seen as high drama, with Shōin traversing the the length and breadth of Japan purely to demonstrate samurai courage and action for action's sake. Strong justification for this position may be derived from Shōin's own dramatic literary style. Shōin, writing in retrospect, sought to identify himself with legendary historical

23. Sakuma Shōzan, Seiken-roku, cited de Bary, II, op.cit., p. 107, Item 49.

24. Ibid., p. 108, Item 52.

25. Chang, op.cit., p. 146.

26. Literally a pig box, a term used as a nickname for a small, detached prison cell or house, because of its dimensions and slatted walls which gave a prisoner no privacy. Shōin and Kaneko were detained in such a place at Shimoda.

characters and wrote of grandiose dreams and visions of chivalric courage signing himself "Nijū ikkai mōshi" (Twenty-one times audacious Samurai).²⁷ But those works were composed or written in prison, and whatever meaning hindsight may have attributed to the acts in which he was involved, it must not be forgotten that throughout his life he remained the true Mencian scholar. He was convinced that a ruler, nation or individual "having made a choice between peace and war should pursue it unwaveringly thereafter".²⁸ The true leader demonstrated his qualities by rising above "the superficialities of unconventional behaviour"²⁹ without baulking at the penalty which may be incurred. What may appear at first to be the rash decision of an adventurous rōnin to seek passage to America with Perry's ships, thereby flouting once more the laws of the land,³⁰ was not an idea peculiar nor original to Shōin. Even in Bakufu circles a plan had been under consideration to send men abroad on fact-finding missions. Both Mito Nariaki and Sakuma Shōzan had presented opinions on the subject. Nariaki made a statement in the context of the Harris consultations which clearly demonstrated that such an idea had been under discussion for some time.

... but also, if it is decided to send me to America in accordance with this request, I ask that you should announce that whoever wishes to do so may go with me; that you should not only allow rōnin³¹ to accompany me, but also younger sons of farmers and townspeople, three or four or one hundred in all.³²

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27. See Chronological Table 2 entry for 1854 and Table 3.
28. Beasley, *Select Documents*, op.cit., 'Nariaki to Bakufu, 14 August 1853', p.103. Nariaki's words expressing Shōin's own deep felt convictions.
29. YSZ II: 26 cited in de Bary, op.cit., p. 113.
30. *Sakoku*, Seclusion Policy laws of 1636-9 relating to Japanese nationals going abroad were still in operation.
31. Shōin would be eligible under this category.
32. Beasley, *Select Documents*, op.cit., 'Tokugawa Mito Nariaki to Rōjū', 30 December 1856, p. 169.

Shōzan, similarly, in the course of his normal consultative duties on national defence matters, had recommended that a specially selected group of young samurai of proven ability should be sent abroad to absorb Western technology, returning to contribute their acquired expertise for the good of the country. He presented a memorial to the Bakufu through the good offices of a long-time friend, the finance bureaucrat Kawaji Toshiakira, appending a list of names of potential candidates including that of Yoshida Shōin.³³

As well as a thorough grounding in Mencian Theory, Shōin was very familiar with Sun Tzu's Art of War. He therefore had had impressed upon him the importance of gathering intelligence from behind enemy lines as a necessary prelude to victory. Encouraged by Shōzan who had failed to have his scheme for sending scholars abroad approved by the Bakufu, Shōin came to the conclusion that he must act to help his country in this way, regardless of consequences. A journey overseas must be accomplished without official approval. His attitude was much as it had been during his wait in Mito for a travel permit - the longterm benefits for the nation would be such that he would fulfil his duty and obligation better in disobedience than in obeying a law made bankrupt by contemporary circumstances.

The opportunity to act came less than two months after Perry's departure from Uraga to give Japan time for consultations. In September news reached Edo that Admiral Efimii Vasilievich Putiatin, with four war ships of the Russian Far Eastern Squadron, had anchored in Nagasaki harbour, seeking diplomatic and trade facilities. For Shōin this was the moment of decision.³⁴

33. Chang, op.cit., pp. 112-114, discusses these issues. Chang believes Shōzan saw the episode as an opportunity for rehabilitating Shōin in official favour. See also Huber, op.cit., p. 17.

34. Shōin had not been idle in the meantime: several "personal opinion" papers were presented to the Hanshu concerning matters of national importance of which the most well constructed and forthright was Setsui Shigi (Table 3).

I took Sakuma Shōzan for my teacher, thoroughly accepted his special theories and made my decisions accordingly.³⁵

Shōin paid a visit to Chikuin again in mid-October and shortly afterwards left Edo for Nagasaki. Shōzan had contributed money for the journey, a letter and a poem of encouragement. After a solemn exchange of swords and receipt of a *haori* or short formal over-jacket, Shōin set out. On the way he called for the first time at Kyoto, which he usually skirted via Fushimi. Here he paid his respects at the Imperial Palace precincts³⁶ and had several significant conversations with the senior loyalist Yanagawa Seigan (1789-1858). Imperceptibly he was gaining a footing in the heart of the evolving sonnō movement. Leaving Kyoto he travelled by boat to Kyushu and by foot to Kumamoto staying for six days with Miyabe Teizō, who was in his home domain at the time, but more importantly, for the development of his loyalist philosophy, he had contact with Yokoi Shōnan.

Shōin paid the price for this leisurely progress. Putiatin, who had been in Japanese waters since August, having failed to obtain the desired treaties, had sailed just four days before Shōin reached Nagasaki on 27th November.³⁷ Greatly disappointed Shōin left again on 1st December, spending a few days at Hagi with his family where he was joined by Miyabe. Even before the New Year the two friends left Chōshū by boat for Osaka and Kyoto, a slow journey during which Shōin caught up with his reading, wrote his notes - Nagasaki Kikō - and polished the poem of loyalty to the Emperor written a few weeks previously.³⁸ Pausing

35. Chang, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

36. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 122, describes this memorable incident and the poem of passionate loyalty which it evoked.

37. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 112 fn 26, notes that Putiatin returned to Nagasaki for a further stay of four weeks from 4th January 1854 but Shōin was already in Kyoto on his return journey to Edo.

38. Hoketsu wo Hai-shi-tatematsuru ("On Worshipfully Venerating the Imperial Palace"). The thirty-two line German rendition of this
(contd)

once more in Kyoto, Shōin met more of the imperial loyalists who were to be active politically in the following years such as Umeda Umpin and Rai Mikisaburō. These were men of political experience and advanced ideas, with their fingers on the pulse of palace and Kyoto politics, where sonnō-jōi philosophy was rapidly crystallizing under the pressure of the debate over the Americans' presence.

When Shōin reached Edo early in January 1854, the lines of the future were firmly laid. In the one year since his loss of samurai status on 19th January 1853, he had been present, albeit unofficially, at one of the most significant events in Japanese history, namely the official exchange of documents between Japan and the foreigners; he had made a decision to act within the circumstances thus created; he had been drawn into the elite circle of scholars and active pro-imperial forces in Edo and Kyoto, and he had firmly bonded himself to a group of young samurai who would be his friends and supporters during the trials ahead. At the same time the scholarly mould had been reshaped in the fire of experience.

This new sense of identity which compensated to some extent for the loss of his status and made him a man of the Emperor no less than a man of Mōri, was accompanied by a rising sense of urgency. He returned to Edo via Ise and the Nakasendō, a route now well known to him, in anxious anticipation of Perry's return before the spring. He was at once absorbed back into Sakuma Shōzan's group of *deshi*, although Shōzan himself was in Kanagawa on the urgent business of coastal defence. Murdoch presents a lively description of the augmented procession of ships which Perry, cooling his heels after filling in the five months' wait at Hong Kong, Macau and other Chinese ports, was assembling in

38. (contd) poem is printed in Dumoulin Heinrich "Yoshida Shōin", *op.cit.*, pp. 358-259, in the course of a discussion on Shōin's Imperial loyalty.

the port of Naha in the Ryūkyū Islands prior to sailing for Japan.³⁹

On 11th February 1854 'Susquehana' arrived and anchored off Kamakura. On 13th February, the American squadron sailed into Edo Bay led by 'Powhatan' and 'Mississippi', "three steamers each with a sailing ship in tow, swept past Uraga and dropped anchor twelve miles above the town where a seventh vessel, Southhampton, had been lying for the previous three days".⁴⁰ The fleet was to remain in the Bay for sixty-four days with its guns trained on the pavilion erected by the Japanese shore authorities for conference purposes. The events which ensued do not belong in this text, but certain points should be made. The long and arduous negotiations on open ports, coal supplies, anchorages, exchange of sailors, and relations with the Dutch were no profligate secession of Japanese rights by an incompetent bureaucracy. Rōjū Abe Masahiro had announced at the end of 1853, during the official daimyo visits to Edo-jō, that concessions would be made only to avoid hostilities, and that no definite reply should be given to the American envoy's demands.⁴¹ In January 1854, at a second conference, the rōjū conceded that if the Americans passed Uraga "they must be regarded as coming with hostile intent"⁴² but it is doubtful if Abe or his advisors had any definite plan beyond faith in the effective line of forts built across Edo Bay, should the American fleet use its superior gun power. Moreover the Bakufu made no concession concerning the status of the negotiating personnel, who did not equate with the Americans' concept

39. Murdoch, III, op.cit., pp. 597-599.

40. Ibid. The fleet consisted of ten vessels in all including four sloops of war, and a store ship, with a complement of sixteen hundred men and two hundred and sixty guns.

On 24th February manoeuvring of anchorage brought some of the ships even closer to Kanagawa.

41. Ibid., p. 596. The inference was hostilities "for which Japan was not yet fully prepared".

42. Ibid.

of representatives worthy of meeting them rank for rank.⁴³ Japan guarded its fall-back positions of authority jealously, as the names of signatories of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce prove.

On the 31st March 1854 the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, also known as Kanagawa, was signed between the United States of America and Japan. The signatories were Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry acting with full delegated powers from his President and four signatories for Japan as noted above.⁴⁴ Apart from the much discussed articles on import and export legislation, the question of 'open ports' and the rights of American citizens resident on Japanese soil, were the subject of most contention.⁴⁵ Most particularly the question of the opening of "Shimoda in the principality of I(d)zu immediately upon the signing of the treaty for the reception of American ships"⁴⁶ and the guarantee of freedom from the imposition of Japanese law and certain other restrictions currently applicable to the Dutch at Nagasaki, was controversial.⁴⁷ There was a holding period of three months

43. The "high officials" as they were called who negotiated for Japan and also signed the Treaty were:

Hayashi Noboru, Daigaku-no-kami
 Ido Satohiro, Tsushima-no-kami
 Izawa Masayoshi, Mimasaki-no-kami
 Udono Choei, Mimbu-Shōyu (member of the Board of
 Revenue and metsuke)

The chief translator and interpreter was a Professor Matsusaki, a Kangakusha of high repute but unprepossessing physical appearance. Murdoch, op.cit., p. 598 fn.

44. For full text see Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., pp. 119-122.

45. Ibid., p. 17. Article III. "In addition to the ports of Simoda (Shimoda) and Hakodate, the following ports and towns shall be opened on the dates respectively appended to them, that is to say, Kanagawa, on the 4th of July 1859; Nagasaki, on the 4th of July 1859; Nee-e-gata (Niigata) on the 1st of January 1860; Hiogo (Hyogo) on the 1st of January 1863...From the 1st of January 1862, Americans shall be allowed to reside in the City of Yedo; and from the 1st of January 1863, in the City of Osaca (Osaka) for the purposes of trade only...."

46. Ibid.

47. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., p. 121. Article V; Also
 (contd)

on the opening of Hakodate on the east coast of Ezo (Hokkaido) to give Perry time for inspection. Shimoda, the land-locked harbour on the tip of Izu Peninsula, he planned to visit immediately upon conclusion of treaty formalities (Pates 3e, 36 and 37).⁴⁸

The obvious target for Shōin's next move was therefore Shimoda. He had not abandoned his plan to seek passage overseas after the failure with the Russian fleet at Nagasaki, but any private approaches to officers of the American fleet at Uraga were out of the question. Encouraged by Shōzan, Shōin now decided to follow the ships to their anchorage and put his request to Commodore Perry himself. His immediate and violent recoil from the foreign presence on Japanese soil had been expressed in the writing and presentation of a plan for sea warfare for his Hanshū's perusal, notwithstanding his lack of official right to do so. But more direct action was required to express his stance. Three days after the signing of the Treaty, therefore, Shōin set out for Shimoda accompanied by a boyhood friend, Kaneko Shigesuke, who was on sankin-kōtai duties at Edo at the time. They stayed briefly at Hodogaya in Kanagawa and when the Perry fleet set sail, they crossed the Kantō plain. They left the Tokaidō at Odawara where it turned west over the mountainous barrier of the Hakones and then travelled for sixty kilometres south-east down the rugged coast of the Izu Peninsula,⁴⁹ keeping the shipping lanes between Honshu and Ōshima, the

47. (contd) Lu, op.cit., p.18. "Americans committing offence against the Japanese shall be tried in American consular courts, and when guilty, punished according to American Law" (Article VI).

48. It had been one of Perry's arguments after the negotiations stalled over the date of opening ports that if the text of the treaty did not state that at least one port would be opened at once, the United States President would certainly consider that he had failed in his mission. Ibid., p. 126.

49. Shōin's strong perception of history at a time of national crisis would remind him that Odawara had close association with Tokugawa Ieyasu's early campaigns prior to the Battle of Sekigahara, and that Izu Hanto, the land of the Hōjō, was Minamoto-no-Yoritomo's place of exile for twenty years prior to his establishment of the Kamakura shogunate.

volcanic island marking the main sea routes, on their left (Table 3e). By the time Shōin and Kaneko reached Shimoda, the small inner harbour anchorage ⁵⁰ as well as the outer unprotected roads, were full of American ships. ⁵¹ Moreover sailors from the ships were seen everywhere in the town as they could go where they pleased within the limit of 7 *ri*. ⁵² This concession was causing both confusion and concern in Shimoda whose administrators had played no part in the negotiations.

They (Americans) insisted that they must be free to act as they chose...and claimed they wished first to make a chart of Shimoda harbor and then be allowed to walk for pleasure within the distance of one day's travel which is a distance of 7 *ri*...and we decided rather than leave the foreigners to land and act violently (elsewhere) and provoke hostilities, it would be better to allow them to move about in the vicinity of Shimoda. ⁵³

Shōin and Kaneko were given hospitality in the home of a local doctor named Maruyama who was sympathetic to their cause. ⁵⁴ They were

50. Plate 37 indicates clearly the restricted nature of the inner harbour.

51. The first U.S. Consul to Japan, Townsend Harris, described Shimoda in his Journal thus:
 "It is rather a bight than a harbor and not more than three vessels...can move at the same time in the inner harbor.
 The outer harbor is nothing more than a roadstead."
The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris, introduction and notes, ed. Mario E. Consenza, New York, 1930, rev.edn, 1959, p. 201.

52. "America ōsetsu-gakari to Rōjū, 2 April 1854" (Report on American Negotiations), Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., p. 124.
 1 *ri* = 3.924 km. There was some confusion on this point since the *ri* was mistakenly equated to a mile by the Americans.

53. Ibid., p. 125.

54. Details from Field Trip Observations and Shōin Collection, Maruyama Yashiki Museum, Shimoda. This unpretentious house is situated some distance from the harbour. It was one of the few houses which survived the 1854 earthquake. The present owner is said to be a fifth generation descendant of Dr. Maruyama. The room where Shōin stayed is entered through the ceiling of the main room by a detachable ladder. The desk and sake *tokkuri* (container) used by Shōin have been preserved.

The residence was designated an important historical asset ten years ago and opened to the public as a museum. It may be reached from Shimoda *eki-mae* by bus to Redaiji stop and is in

discreetly accommodated for eight days in a second floor room, which had been added to the single-frame thatch-roofed structure and was therefore secluded from the rest of the house. In the atmosphere of foreign crisis, daily personified by the casual comings and goings of American crewmen around the shops and bathhouses of Shimoda, Shōin was even more convinced that he must go abroad to study Western technological developments for the sake of Japan's future. While they awaited some opportunity to act, they revised the letter⁵⁵ which would later be personally delivered to the officer on watch on 'Powhatan', Perry's flagship. In it they stated their intentions, explaining how for many years they had been "desirous of going over the 'five great continents' but the laws of our country in all maritime points are very strict..."⁵⁶ The cover-note, which accompanied the formal request to be given passage, concluded by saying that as they planned to be at Kakizaki waiting in a small boat around midnight, their fervent wish was to be met and taken on board, "and thus bring our hopes to fruition". Shōin and Kaneko made and discarded several plans as to how they might contact the Americans. Somewhat doubtful about the possible reaction of Shimoda authorities to their presence, they remained close to the Maruyama house and away from the port facilities, using pseudonyms in public. On 24th April by luck, while

54. (contd) the immediate neighbourhood of the Shogodaira *ryōkan* (inn).

55. The full text of this letter is presented in Appendix A as a footnote to the eyewitness account of the events of the night of 24th April 1845. Tomes, Robert, The Americans in Japan: An Abridgement of the Government Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to Japan under Commodore Perry. New York and London, 1859, pp. 292-300. See also S. Wells Williams' translation in his article in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, No. XXXVII, 1910, Part II, pp. 172-174, entitled "A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854)".

56. Ibid. p. 292, fn. Also Earl, op.cit., p. 123, discusses the incident noting that the letter To-i-sho ("Application for joining the Barbarians") was written on 2nd April at Hodogaya.

out walking, they encountered an officer of the U.S. fleet with two companions who had taken advantage of the relaxed rules for shore leave and were exploring the hilly area behind the residential district.

The Japanese were observed to be men of some position and rank, as each wore the two swords characteristic of distinction, and were dressed in wide but short trousers of rich silk brocade. Their manners showed the usual courtly refinement of the better classes, but they exhibited the embarrassment of men who evidently were not perfectly at their ease, and were about doing something of dubious propriety. They cast their eyes stealthily about, as if to assure themselves that none of their countrymen were at hand to observe their proceedings, and then approaching one of the officers and pretending to admire his watch-chain, slipped within the breast of his coat a folded paper.⁵⁷

Japanese records cast a diplomatic veil over subsequent events. However, there is a detailed account in the journals of the American expedition and Shōin's own recollections of the events of the night of 24th April are readily available.⁵⁸ The impression left by these two accounts⁵⁹ is of men of dedication launched on an undertaking for which they were neither fully equipped nor briefed, and of much goodwill as well as puzzlement on the part of Americans confident in the probity of their own mission.

Shōin and Kaneko, having announced their intention in the letter,

57. Hawks, Francis L., Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Washington, 1856, p. 484.

58. YSZ X: 459-466, Sangatsu Nyūshichiya no ki. See Table 3.

59. Appendix A. The flavour of the journal's account is impossible to convey in excerpts or paraphrase. It presents the only first-hand description of Shōin or his activities by a foreign observer available to us. Tomes' version, op.cit., pp. 292-300, is therefore printed in full as an appendix to this thesis.

From it something of the misconceptions of Japan and the Japanese on the part of Americans may be ascertained. More importantly, the international dimension and the political delicacy of the situation into which Shōin intruded is made clear. The incident has also been overdeveloped romantically in the popular mind to the detriment of truthful representation, e.g. Diorama at Hagi Historical Museum.

proceeded as planned. There is, in the sequence of events, no evidence of hasty or irrational actions indicative of reckless pranks or foolhardy showmanship. Neither is there any evidence to support the often repeated claim that Shōin "stowed away" on Perry's ship and, when discovered, demanded to be taken to America. Rather it presents a picture of Shōin stepping out of his context of samurai and scholar into a half-comprehended world of the West, with no fall back or plan in anticipation of failure. In the late evening of 24th April they entered the Kakizaki Benten shrine⁶⁰ and awaited the turn of the tide when they borrowed a fisherman's boat and with difficulty rowed out to the 'Mississippi'.

At 2 a.m. the officer on watch was surprised by a call from two Japanese who had come alongside the gangway indicating they wished to board, and referred them to the flagship anchored some distance away. Shōin's cogitations earlier about samurai trained in land warfare and ignorant of the techniques required in naval combat, have some point. The manoeuvring of the unwieldy single-stern oar boat three hundred yards across the outer roads with a strong swell pulling seaward, as well as their ignorance of docking procedures, meant they lost, through incompetence, not only their oar but also the boat itself containing both swords and most of their papers.⁶¹ Once on

60. This shrine is close to the present site of the Yoshida Shōin Memorial Statue (Plate 38).

61. Among the papers which were later confiscated by shore authorities, were a letter and poem of encouragement by Sakuma Shōzan. These were used in evidence by the Bakufu to implicate Shōzan in what was seen as an anti-bakufu conspiracy. Shōzan was jailed in Denmachō Prison, Edo, at the same time as Shōin. The poem written as Shōin left for Nagasaki, reads in part:

He had journeyed a thousand leagues,
And though he had not yet disclosed to me
The trend of his thoughts,
I perceive that he is meditating,
Some extraordinary exploit.
As I watch him move away
From my cottage gate, I see in fancy

(contd)

board 'Powhatan' they presented their petition and the Rev. S. Wells Williams informed Commodore Perry of their presence. They were educated men, according to Hawks, and wrote "the mandarin Chinese with fluency and apparent elegance, and their manners were courteous and highly refined".⁶² Perry, fresh from the Kanagawa Convention, was particularly anxious not to endanger the delicate balance of negotiations then pertaining between the two governments, at least as long as his fleet was in Japanese waters, and sent a message that he unfortunately could neither receive them nor assist them without permission of their authorities. Hawks contributes his own comment on what he believed to be the reason for Perry's firm refusal of their second appeal though Shōin emphasized that they would be likely to lose their heads if they returned to shore. Had the Commodore been at liberty to follow his own feelings, Hawks wrote,

...he would have gladly given refuge on board his ship to the poor Japanese....There were other considerations which, however, had higher claims than an equivocal humanity. To connive at the flight of one of the people was to disobey the laws of Empire, and it was only true policy to conform, in all possible regards, to the institutions of a country by which so many important concessions had already been reluctantly granted.⁶³

To avoid compounding their problems, therefore, Perry ordered that the two samurai be returned before dawn to shore close to their point

61.(contd). A solitary stork outstretched on the wing
 In the autumn sky.
 The ocean lies beneath, and the five continents
 Seem to be the bird's close neighbours....
 Unless a man
 Achieves something wonderful in his life,
 He cannot hope to bear
 A high reputation after his death.

Sakuma Shōzan Zenshū I.66, translated in Chang, op.cit., pp. 114-115. A more romantic translation appears in Morris, J., Makers of Japan, London, 1906, p. 110.

62. Hawks, op.cit., p. 486.

63. Ibid., p. 487.

of departure.⁶⁴

On the morning of 25th April Shōin and Kaneko gave themselves up to the Shimoda commissioners and were placed under arrest for the crime of breaking the laws of national seclusion.⁶⁵ From that time Shōin was never again to be physically free. After a few days they were sent under guard to Edo, and on 12th May incarcerated in Denmachō gaol, the place of detention for political dissenters where Sakuma Shōzan was shortly to join them.

Shōzan was implicated in the affair by reason of the letter given to Shōin originally to carry to Nagasaki but which was found by the authorities after the Shimoda affair. Despite his high prestige, Shōzan spent a period in prison in Edo and nine years in domiciliary confinement in Matsushiro.⁶⁶ Shōin and Shōzan had neighbouring cells and while Shōin served his sentence of one hundred and fifty days imprisonment for breaking Seclusion laws, they had many discussions through the dividing partition. It is reported that they were permitted neither visitors nor writing brush and paper and these conversations therefore were of profound importance in cementing their relationships and maintaining their mental balance.⁶⁷ On 9th October

64. Plate 37. Foreground figures are standing at the reputed landing spot, near Kakizaki Benten shrine.

65. There is a postscript to the Shimoda Incident. When Perry sent an officer to check if the men who had visited the ships were in fact the two held in one of the usual places of confinement, Shōin was able to pass on a letter especially prepared by way of justification and apology. It begins "When a hero fails in his purpose, his acts are then regarded as those of a villain and robber", and concludes "...how can we find our exit from the place? Weeping, we seem as fools; laughing as rogues. Alas! for us; silent we can only be". The letter was signed in pseudonym. Shōin maintained the convention of anonymity until the end of the sorry episode. Hawks, *op.cit.*, pp. 488-89. See also Appendix A.

66. Earl, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-153 on Shōzan's life and influence.

67. Something of this may be gathered from the similarities apparent in the writings which followed their release, viz.: Shōin's Yūshū Roku (Table 3) and Shōzan's Seiken-roku, ostensibly a of self-examination, but in fact a vigorous self defence dealing

Shōin was relocated to the Mōri Azabu yashiki and on 14th December he and Kaneko were returned to Hagi under guard. Shōin was incarcerated in Noyama Gaol for political prisoners of high rank (Plate 28). Kaneko Shigesuke was taken to the more notorious gaol at Iwakura where he died of illness on 1st March 1855, to Shōin's great grief. Sakuma Shōzan and Shōin did not see each other again but maintained a close correspondence until Shōin's death.

Nine months after the Shimoda Incident Shōin wrote and circulated among his fellow internees at Noyama, a colourful account under the title Sangatsu Nijūshichiya no Ki ("Chronicle of the Night of the 27th day, 3rd month") which does not qualify for inclusion among his more significant writings. His Yūshū Roku ("Record of Imprisonment")⁶⁸ not completed until 1855, was a different matter. A sober and carefully compiled analysis of the situation confronting Japan as Shōin perceived it, supported the main tenets of Shōzan's teachings on national defence and the danger of foreign incursions not only to Bakufu authority but to the Emperor himself, the very heart of Japan. It reflected not only the ideas current among students of Shōzan's juku groups but the clarification of Shōin's ideas which the prison experience had brought.⁶⁹ For the moment though his concentration was on reform and strengthening of the Bakufu so that it might better fulfil its primary duty to the imperial institution, and the creation of facilities to explore and train available talent from all over Japan in the technological skills of western military expertise.⁷⁰ As yet

67. (contd). with his Confucian beliefs, conviction concerning the importance of Western studies and justification of his activities. de Bary, Vol. II, op.cit., pp. 101-109.

68. YSZ I: 340-349.

69. YSZ I: 340. Shōin wrote "(I) thoroughly accepted Shōzan's theories, and made my decisions in all things accordingly." Also Earl, op.cit., p. 148 fn 24.

70. Ibid., pp. 152-153.

the role of the Bakufu was never in question in Shōin's thought, nor had he made the bridge between Shōzan's theories and those of the more advanced philosophy of the Mitogakusha.

In his own environment of Hagi, Shōin faced the next year in prison creatively (Plate 30). His elder brother Umetarō and friends scoured the countryside for books and pamphlets,⁷¹ and he began thinking again about the relationship of classical and historical learning to contemporary conditions. He became involved in a reading and poetry writing group organized by an elderly poet Yoshimura Zensaku.⁷² He was also writing his Shiki Shichisoku ("Rules for Samurai: The Seven Principles")⁷³ the most well known of all his compositions (Plate 31).

There were eleven other prisoners in Noyama gaol during Shōin's term of detention, one of whom was a woman named Takasu Hisako, the widow of a samurai.⁷⁴ She was thirty-seven years old, ten years Shōin's senior, and had already served two years of an indeterminate sentence for alleged association with a political dissenter.⁷⁵ Well educated and of lively disposition, she shared the poetry sessions with Shōin and listened to his discourses on Mencius as did all prisoners, through the thin walls dividing the cells (Plate 30).

Tokunaga states that the relationship was at first that of teacher-

71. Shōin kept a list of his reading (Shomotsu Mokuroku, Table 3) Kumuru, Yoshida Shōin no shisō to kyōiku, p. 79, cited Earl, pp. 126-127 notes over one thousand pieces, some books and some pamphlets. Rai Sanyo (1780-1830), Nihon Gaishi and Nihon Seiki and Fujita Toko, Kodokan-ki Jutsugi, this latter of much interest since his Mito visits were included.
72. Shōin's own poem composed on hearing of Kaneko's death was read at a memorial service. See van Straelen, op.cit., p. 111. Anthology for translation.
73. This is discussed in Chapter Four.
74. Tokunaga Shinochiro, Yoshida Shōin: Monogatari to Shiseki o Tazunete. Tokyo, 1976, passim, and Hagi Shōin Jinja Historical Museum Records for details of this episode.
75. The records are somewhat obscure. Takasu herself may have been a political activist though this would be unusual.

student, but gradually a tenderness developed despite the limitation of contacts to rare glimpses in the confines of the prison yashiki buildings and garden⁷⁶ (Plate 28). They exchanged many poems which took the place of letters in the cultured manner of traditional scholars, but most of these, being of little literary merit, remained unpublished. They were like ordinary people falling in love, the commentator states, though their relationship was sharply different, divided as they were by the desperate circumstances of imprisonment.⁷⁷ Shōin himself uses the phrase '*futsu no hito*', ordinary people, to describe their association in a haiku which concludes on the sad note of the unfulfilment⁷⁸ forced on them by his departure to face trial at Edo in 1859.

... kamo tatte
Ato sabishisa no
Yoake kana. ⁷⁹

Hisako, freed under the general amnesty for Noyama political prisoners in November 1856 credited to Shōin's intervention, presented him with a farewell gift of a hand-made *tenugui*, or hand towel. Shōin's thanks and farewell took the form of a poem, as follows:

Hakone yama kosu toki
Ase no ide ya sen,
Kimi o omoitte ⁸⁰
Nugui ⁸¹ ki yo men.

76. Tokunaga, *op.cit.*, p. 75. Also Furukawa Kaoru, *Yoshida Shōin*, Tokyo, 1977, p. 112.

77. Tokunaga, *ibid.*

78. Tokunaga uses the term *dōtei* 童貞, chastity, virginity, to describe Shōin's state, but whether this refers to their relationship, Shōin's long term determination, or is a literary licence to emphasize his single-minded dedication to duty and loyalty, is not indicated in the text.

79. (My love and my going)
... leave silence and loneliness
In the early morning.

Shōin - unpublished poem, HSR, and
Tokunaga, *ibid.*, p. 74. (trans. Coaldrake)

80. *Nugui* 拭 : to wipe or scrape away, usually of tears, hence a double entendre.

81. Tokunaga, *op.cit.*

While passing through the Hakone mountains,
I shall wipe my heated brow,
Thinking of you. ⁸²

The relationship had lasted four years and its gentle touch softened the harsher lines of the political realities of Shōin's last years. Biographers make little reference to his relationships with women beyond emphasizing his close family ties with his mother and sisters, though much consideration is given to his enduring friendships with fellow samurai and his capacity for intellectual associations with eminent scholars of diverse age and philosophical background. He wrote conventional exhortations and advice to his sisters, ⁸³ but as he neither married nor had heirs, women played a minor part in his life. This makes his relationship with Takasu Hisako of great interest in understanding his character.

Certain other aspects of the year's imprisonment are significant in turning Shōin again towards teaching as a vocation. The reformist priests Gesshō and Mokurin, ⁸⁴ attracted by his predicament, visited Hagi and consulted with his family and associates, writing letters ⁸⁵ encouraging him to use his time well. He had already begun in a

82. Translation: Coaldrake.

83. A waka presented to his sisters Chiyo, Hisa and Fumiko reads:
- Keep in your heart
You who are mothers,
The great sadness
Which is the common fate
Of the samurai.

trans. van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

84. Gesshō (1813-1858) and Utsunomiya Mokurin (1824-1897), two Buddhist priests of known imperial loyalist sympathies. Gesshō particularly was a friend of the loyalist samurai Shōin had met during his 1853 Kyoto visit.

Both priests were older and more experienced in national politics than Shōin. Mokurin who was deaf, spent much time in study and travel and became a constant and supportive correspondent during the following years. Gesshō who was more frequently in Hagi, according to Earl, devoted much of his energy to preaching the need for military preparedness in Chōshū, Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 128, fn 29.

85. Shōin's first letter to Gesshō written in 1855 is recorded in YSZ IV: 22-26. It concerns his own firm belief in the legitimacy of Bakufu authority.

modest way, conducting sessions of Mencian textual exegesis for fellow prisoners and some guards who sat outside on the long verandah (*rōka*) facing the garden. He was now encouraged to formulate these lectures more carefully, a task which bore fruit in the following year with the completion and circulation of two of his more profound works Kōmō Yowa and Bukyō Zensho Kōroku, accepted as the high point of his scholarly flowering. At the same time the result of his wide reading⁸⁶ and personal studies were seen in Kaiko Roku ("Record of the Past").⁸⁷ In this work he attempted both to rationalize his failure at Shomoda by reverting once more to an anti-Western position and to demonstrate his high concepts of the Imperial Institution as an historical and ethical proposition while at the same time recording in detail all the events and considerations involved.⁸⁸ Nonetheless his conviction that the pursuit of both Western studies and military scientific training were essential to the strengthening of the nation in crisis was undiminished. It found clear expression in Yūshū Roku,⁸⁹ copies of which he sent to Shōzan and Mokurin for their criticism. The ideas are incorporated in his educational aspirations for a new-style centralized military training academy outlined in Yūshū Roku⁹⁰ whose curriculum should include studies in foreign languages, specifically Dutch, Russian, American and English - ideas which he was

86. YSZ XI: 1-26, for book listings, many titles of which he used later at the Sonjuku.

87. YSZ X: 469-471 for essentials.

88. YSZ I: 329-371.

89. Ibid., 369-370. Shōzan's comments are incorporated in the YSZ record.

90. Earl, op.cit., pp. 127-8 considers Yūshū Roku the first of Shōin's works of sufficient substance to be considered a book, the last section demonstrating Shōin's conviction that a strong, aggressive policy is inherent in *kokutai*.

later to put into effect at the Sonjuku.

There is some evidence to support the theory that after the death of Kaneko Shigesuke with whom he had shared the one year of intense activity, Shōin had a sense of living on borrowed time which added both urgency and a sober colour to his thinking. Certainly the boundaries limiting the areas of possible activities in the future were being drawn more clearly and he was now forced to seek avenues for operation within them. He must create his own events within which to act since he was no longer, by right, able to take his place in the rapidly escalating national crisis.

The year 1855 which for Shōin was a year of review and consolidation, was one of mounting controversy and tension in Edo, especially over the administration of the opened ports. Preparations were in hand for the reception at Shimoda of the first official American representative to take up residence on Japanese soil. Moreover, news of further aggression by French and British forces on the Chinese mainland was reaching Japan. Anticipating such possibilities at home, the Bakufu had accepted assistance from the Dutch at Nagasaki with the establishment of a Naval Training Academy,⁹¹ and made plans for its development as a comprehensive Centre for the Introduction of Western learning.⁹²

The remaining years of Shōin's life are spent, on the one hand nurturing the minds and spirits of a diverse group of students at

91. Tanaka Shunsuke (also Junsuke), Ishin no Sendatsu Yoshida Shōin, Hagi 1967, pp. 106-107.

92. Chronological Table I, 1856. Also Sugimoto Masayoshi and Swain David, L., Science and Culture in Japan. MIT Cambridge Mass., 1978, re *Nagasaki Kaigun Denshūshō*, p. 397.

93. The plan contained material similar to that outlined in Yūshū Roku, suggesting that such ideas had common currency among a number of scholars in and out of the bureaucracy.

the Shōka Sonjuku, and on the other, in a desperate casting around for means of personal intervention in events, until throwing scholarship aside, in the Manabe Incident⁹⁴ Shōin seemed to set himself to run onto the sword of the Bakufu. Denied a means of repaying his debt of samurai obligation and duty by reason of the failure of original choices, he gathered all his loyalties together in the ultimate loyalty to the Emperor. He died by decapitation for principles which ten years later would motivate men who were his students, in the planning of the re-formed Japanese state.

v. The Closing Years *

At the beginning of Shōin's twenty-seventh year in 1856, the han authorities commuted his prison sentence to domiciliary confinement. It lasted for the next three and a half years until his transference to Edo for trial and judgment. In the Sugi-Yoshida household which had supervisory responsibility, he enjoyed relative freedom although his activities were restricted to two small rooms (Plates 25 and 26), and his association with former colleagues from the Meirinkan and neighbourhood families was strictly monitored. It was a period of close involvement in the family juku teaching programme as well as of prolific writing and discussion. Some of his most enduring work was composed at this time, both scholarly and polemical. However, his observations and reactions to the rapid changes on the national scene recorded in these works, depended

94. This Incident and the issues involved are examined in Chapter Five.

* For purposes of simplification footnotes in Sections V and VI of this chapter commence again with footnote 1.

heavily on reports and hearsay from the capital gathered by his friends and students moving between Hagi and Kyoto.

At the Sonjuku Shōin's teaching responsibilities were rapidly extended to include Uncle Kubo Gorozaemon's students, now amalgamated with Tamaki's pupils to form an upgraded school renamed "Shōka Sonjuku". At Kubo's request he turned his mind to the task of analysing the School's history and potential for future expansion.¹ In April 1857 Kubo and Tamaki, with Lord Mōri's approval, appointed Shōin as principal administrator of this expanded sonjuku located on Sugi property and therefore still within the terms of his domiciliary confinement. The School's enrolment immediately increased. On the register of new students there appeared the names of certain youths who would later carry on their shoulders much of the burden of the development of modern Japan after the Restoration (Plate 23). Of these Katsura Kogorō (Kido Kōin), the most senior of the new intake at twenty-four years of age, Shinagawa Yajirō and Yamada Akiyoshi, both fourteen, Itō Hirobumi then in his seventeenth year, Yamagata Aritomo and Kusaka Genzui, were the most promising. Kusaka was to die at Kyoto in 1864 in a violent clash between forces of Chōshū and those of Aizu and Satsuma.

This influx of students created pressure on the accommodation available for teaching purposes. Facilities at the Sugi house were therefore extended with the students doing most of the work themselves (Plate 29). The building continued over several months, greatly strengthening the ties of group solidarity which were to be a hallmark of the Shōka Sonjuku students.² The new classroom, completed on

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1. YSZ IV: 178-180; Shōka Sonjukuki 1856 ("Record of the Shōka Sonjuku"). See also Table 3.
 2. Craig, Albert M., Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration. Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p. 157 goes so far as to say this group formed a clique which played a significant role in politics equal to that of the prestigious Sufu clique.

19th December 1857 and extended again in the following March, became the centre of Shōin's professional life for the remaining eighteen months of his confinement at Matsumoto. The Shōka Sonjuku itself became the personification of Shōin's ideas. The nature of the school and the educational activities of its students are the subject of further examination in Chapter Four.

Lengthy periods of imprisonment and house arrest, rigorously observed, took their toll of Shōin's health and he had a prolonged period of illness during the spring of 1858. His normally austere appearance was greatly accentuated and his recovery slow (Plate 30). But his resolution and wits were sharpened rather than impaired by his physical weakness and he continued with the meticulous preparation of teaching programmes and political position papers such as Kyōfu no Gen ("Words of a Fool")³ in which for the first time he clearly enunciated anti-bakufu sentiment. This paper was forwarded in due course through proper channels to the Bakufu. Fourteen significant treatises and papers which reflected his maturing concepts were completed in 1858.⁴ He also assisted in the resolution of a controversy with the Meirinkan, his reputation for scholarly integrity having in no way suffered from the debate which ensued⁵ between himself and Yamagata Taika⁶ in the course of the year after Shōin sent him a copy of his Kōmō Yowa for critical comment.⁷

3. Table 3.

4. Ibid., 1858.

5. Earl, op.cit., p. 153, notes that students at the Meirinkan however were not allowed to read anything Shōin wrote. This probably added to his attraction as a private teacher.

6. YSZ IV: 75-77 and YSZ III: 551 for part of the coverage of questions and answers exchanged in this controversy.

7. Yamagata Taika, a highly respected Chu Hsi scholar and Chinese classicist, was a retired Meirinkan principal. Huber, op.cit., p. 62 fn, and p. 63 considered Yamagata Chōshū han's "leading advocate of historical particularism". He states that the correspondence between Shōin and Yamagata prolonged itself into "a bitter ideological debate".

Among other scholarly preoccupations was the polishing of Shiki Shichisoku ("Rules for Samurai: The Seven Principles") which was now written on a *kakemono*, or hanging scroll, and was in his sonjuku study programme for seniors (Plate 31).⁸ He also pursued a lengthy correspondence with the priest Mokurin in the course of which he reviewed his ideas on samurai loyalty, and developed even stronger convictions that any sacrifice asked of a subject in defence of the Emperor and Land of the Gods must be accepted whatever the cost.⁹

We must hold indelibly in mind that in the Imperial Land, since the Imperial Throne is by its very nature externally existent, its Way of the Subject is eternally existent.¹⁰

Shōin concluded the argument with a quotation from Manyōshū¹¹ on the supreme loyalty and contempt of death required of the samurai:

We will not die peacefully
But will die
By the side of our king¹²

This positive attitude towards the Imperial Institution was counter-balanced by an increasing anti-Bakufu stance which was crystallized in Taigi wo Gisu ("Discussion on the Great Justice") written late in

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8. These Principles appear in Shōin's own hand in reverse facsimile in Plate 31 and are discussed in Chapter Four in connection with his educational theories.
 9. Earl, op.cit., pp. 190-191. Earl calls this "Shōin's Illumination" (p. 133) since it involved a change of heart in which religious feeling triumphed over military training.
 10. YSZ VII: 258. Translation Earl, ibid., p. 192.
 11. Manyōshū, compiled in late Nara (710-794), is the earliest and possibly the greatest anthology of Japanese poetry. A significant number of more than 4000 poems were written by sovereigns and court nobles, the rest of unknown authorship, probably soldier or peasant class.
 12. Cited by Shōin, YSZ VII: 258; this translation Sansom, G.B., Japan: A Short Cultural History, New York, 1943 rev. edn., p. 266. Earl, op.cit., p. 192 fn 38, also comments on this point.

1858.¹³ Vehement in condemnation as this was "(The Shogun) disobeys the Imperial Command...The Shogun is a national criminal" Shōin nevertheless harboured a hope that the Bakufu would yield to the "thousand memorials of righteous argument",¹⁴ and by reversing the treaty concessions, return to obedient service of the Emperor.¹⁵ Order in the state could yet be possible if specifications of rank were observed and the original Confucian political structure upheld. The hope was neither foolish nor irrational. It was based on his own understanding of the crisis of the times. His limitations on reaching a fully balanced judgment lay in the very nature of his condition and physical location on the periphery of power. The crisis in the affairs of state challenged him to accomplish a specific result under prescribed conditions, but the conditions themselves had changed irrevocably and it was now beyond his competence to intervene in them. His single-minded sincerity of purpose (*makoto* 誠) forbade him to manoeuvre or compromise while his estate prevented him from comprehending the reality of national politics. He had arrived at a moment of decision¹⁶ when the result of his selection of one among the number of alternatives would be more important and far reaching than his choice at Mito, or his active seeking of a passage to the West: a decision, moreover, when he was forced by events to shake himself free from intellect and take the leap from knowledge into action.¹⁷

13. A section of *Taigi wo Gisu*, YSZ V: 192-194 from which this quote is translated is found in Earl, op.cit., p. 206. *Taigi Meibun* This was a special platform of Mitogakusha. Van Straelen, op.cit., p. 106, fn 1, quotes *Taigi meibun wo akiraku ni suru* ("to define or make clear the relations between sovereign and subjects") in this connection.

14. YSZ V: 192.

15. The Admonitions Theory is discussed elsewhere in this thesis. See also Harootunian, H.D., *Toward Restoration*, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 216-217 for a discussion on *meibun*.

16. See above ii, *The Event Making Man*.

17. Morris, Ivan, *The Nobility of Failure*, New York, 1976, p. 186;
(contd)

The choice was made more simple by his recent involvement with Ō-Yōmei¹⁸ philosophy through his association with Shōzan.¹⁹

With these factors in mind it is now possible to approach the last years of Shōin's life within the context of national events without being overwhelmed by them. While Shōin was adjusting to life in domiciliary confinement at Hagi, the first United States Consul, Townsend Harris, was taking up residence in Shimoda. Iwase Tadanari (1816-1861), the newly appointed Foreign Affairs Commissioner (Gaikoku-bugyō) began the series of negotiations which would culminate in the 1858 treaties, in an unfavourable atmosphere created by reports of French and British naval successes in China. Advanced-model European guns imported through the Dutch were mounted at all main Edo gates, and a Military Training Institute (Kōbunshō) was established with an immediate intake of three hundred *hatamoto*, or special shogunal samurai. The Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Documents (Banshō Shirabeshō) also opened at this time, marking the first high level recognition of need for both study and translation of documents in languages other than Dutch. The Naval Training Academy established the previous year with Dutch support, moved into stage two of development as the Official Centre for Introduction of Western Learning.²⁰

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17. (contd) also p. 86 fn, for revolutionary implications of the intuitive school of Japanese Confucianism.
 18. Ō-Yōmei (Wang Yang-Ming), the independent intuitive school of Confucian philosophy was established in Japan by Nakae Tōju (1608-1648). See further de Bary, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 369-83.
 19. Sakuma Shōzan had completed his classical Confucian studies under the eminent scholar Satō Issai at the Shōheikō, but was deeply influenced by the intuitive insights on the inseparability of knowledge and action presented by Wang Yang-Ming philosophers. de Bary, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 96-97.
 20. Sugimoto Masayoshi and Swain, David L., Science and Culture in Traditional Japan, A.D. 600-1857, M.I.T., Massachusetts, 1978, pp. 396-398.

Problems encountered by the Bakufu in the course of collection and collation of daimyo and court opinion at the time of the Perry Convention, uncovered an unexpected problem. Many pamphlets, opinion papers and memorials secretly circulated in manuscript form in the countryside especially along the Edo-Kyoto axis and in urban areas, had brought the Bakufu systems under scrutiny. The City of Kyoto, however, enjoying Court protection, had an advantage in the circulation of news over other urban areas. This was a new element in the Japanese experience because the Tokugawa Bakufu from its inception, had exercised complete jurisdiction over all matters relating to national affairs by virtue of the original delegation of power from emperor to shogun. The Imperial Court had thus been 'protected' from any opportunity for intervention in national affairs in its own right. But a combination of circumstances served to change this and at the same time move the foreign question beyond the mere issues of jōi (expulsion). The first of these was the escalation of the foreign crisis itself; another, anxiety over the unresolved question of the shogunal succession²¹; the third, the increasing pressure from sonnō loyalists in Kyoto, now identifiable as a group supporting imperial prerogatives. Moreover, Tokugawa Nariaki, reinstated in favour at Edo and in close alliance with other reforming lords such as Shimazu Nariakira of Satsuma,²² continued to interpret the foreign crisis in terms of national structural and spiritual renewal. By late 1857 this had distanced the reforming lords from the more enlightened Bakufu officials with whom they had previously

21. Tokugawa Iesada (1824-1858), always delicate but now in declining health, had no heirs. Hitotsubashi Keiki, son of Gosanke Mito Nariaki, and Tokugawa Yoshitomi of Kii, later Shogun Iemochi, were the rival candidates with backing of powerful cliques. On Iemochi's death in 1866 Keiki became the last shogun.

22. Beasley, op.cit., 'Reforming Lords', pp. 116-130, inter alia.

enjoyed supportive interaction. These liberal officials for their part were increasingly unable to accept a position which challenged the very basis of Bakufu power as indicated by the call of Matsudaira Shungaku, Echizen-no-kami, for military and administrative changes involving a new concept of national leadership.²³

Ironically a decision of the Bakufu itself exacerbated the situation. By inviting imperial opinion of the Harris propositions of 1857-1858, it made Kyoto the focus of decisions of gravest national concern, and there were many on both sides of the debate who used the opportunity afforded by the freer circulation of news in the Imperial capital, to mould public opinion for their own ends.²⁴ All these issues, often only partially understood by the augmented population of Kyoto,²⁵ contributed to the atmosphere of extreme agitation, descriptions of which were filtered back to Shōin in Hagi through his network of loyalist friends and correspondents. Shōin remained largely ignorant of the breadth and intensity of considerations exercising those in authority. This is not to say that he was either ignorant of, or insensitive to, the issues as is apparent after comparing some of his more emotionally expressed concepts with official discussions on the same subjects.²⁶

23. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., p. 179. In a memorial of 10 January 1858 Matsudaira Shungaku (also Keiei) to Rōjū stated that "services of capable men must be enlisted from the entire country...preparations must be made on both land and sea,...schools for various arts and crafts must be established".

24. Ibid., Section III, pp. 156-181.

25. There was a significant increase in the number of han and Bakufu officials and emissaries living in or temporarily posted to Kyoto, as well as an influx of rōnin, scholars and samurai loyalists. The population reached a crisis point in the summer of 1864. See Chapter Five.

26. See Table 3, 1858. For example, Taisaku Ichido ("One Method of Counter-attack") and Guron ("Stupid Essay") with its sequel Zoku Guron were addressed to the subject of the imperative nature of loyalty to the Emperor in times of crisis and criticized the Bakufu stance. The two latter essays were sent to Yanagawa Seigan (contd)

The American affair is a great sorrow to our Divine Land and a matter truly vital to the safety of the State.²⁷

This plainly stated Court opinion was accepted by the Bakufu as the ideal impossible of attainment, when all considerations were carefully weighed. Shōin's sharp reactions of righteous condemnation of the Rōjū Hotta's reception of Townsend Harris in audience on 16th January 1858, therefore, despite the much publicized opposition of the 'Imperial Mind', could only add more fuel to an already smouldering fire. Despite the free circulation of available information, the intricate detail and careful planning contained in the official memoranda²⁸ would not be known to the majority of the eager proponents of loyalism to whom Shōin had access.²⁹ In Edo in the desperate proceedings of day to day negotiations and under constant pressure from the U.S. Consul Harris, the rōjū and other Bakufu officials were serious men about serious matters of state. On their decisions rested the future of the Japanese nation and they had no mind for the philosophical arguments of righteousness and ultimate loyalty. Faced with the American requests for further liberalization of trade concessions and admission of U.S. agents to Edo, Mizuno Tadanori (1810-1868) the Gaikoku-bugyō, expressed great disquiet in a memorial to the Rōjū in January 1858.

It seems to me...impossible for the Bakufu to refuse outright the establishment of such

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26. (contd) in Kyoto and to Shōin's great joy were received by the Emperor himself.
 27. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., p. 180. 3 May 1858 Court to Rōjū Hotta.
 28. Ibid., pp. 149-155. See, for example, text of the Dutch Supplementary Treaty (1857) which contains details of arrangements for commercial and diplomatic exchange ranging from port and trade negotiations, to freedom for Christian religion, and the hire of carriage and boundaries for foreigners' excursions into the countryside.
 29. Yanagawa Seigan, the senior loyalist poet, and Umeda Umpin, his junior but equally brilliant loyalist radical friend from Mito, would be the most obvious exceptions.

officials here, but it is most undesirable that they should be established in Edo,...there is particular danger that the people's loyalty might be subverted by the introduction of Christianity, ...Were he (Harris) to reside in Edo the Bakufu would face all kinds of difficulties. He might eventually for all we know, enter into negotiations with the daimyo.³⁰

For him as for the other negotiators,³¹ it was time for hard decisions not the niceties of philosophical argument.

Meanwhile the Imperial Court, emerging only gradually into the arena of national politics, had steered clear of involvement in the decision-making processes. However, in the early spring of 1858 during the debate caused by Rōjū Hotta's visit to Kyoto pressing his case for meeting Harris' demands, the Emperor let it be known that he was unfavourable to any concessions to the foreigners whatsoever. Despite Hotta's willingness to amend the Japanese response, loyal court nobles were vehement in opposition and public opinion in Kyoto, always sensitive to the 'Imperial Mind', crystallized at a point which believed it to be impossible to preserve national honour if any such treaty were signed, a position which Shōin had already adopted. Before his departure for Edo, Hotta made an apparently sensible political decision which was yet to prove his most fatal mistake.³² He reached a private agreement with the Kampaku³³ that in the event of a national crisis situation, he would disregard the Imperial wish and sign a treaty with the United States without the Emperor's consent. Unfortunately for Hotta there was little secrecy

30. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., pp. 178-8. Mizuno Tadanori to Rōjū, 2 January 1858.

31. Inoue Kiyonao (d. 1868) of Shinano, and Iwase Tadanari (1818-1861) of Higo.

32. Beasley, op.cit., p. 114.

33. The most senior court executive officer, at this time, 1858-62, Kujō Naotada (1798-1871).

possible in Kyoto in 1858. Three days after his return to Edo on 1st June, his secret negotiations were rewarded by his dismissal from the position of senior rōjū. Ii Naosuke of Hikone (1815-1860) replaced him, being designated Tairō,³⁴ an appointment of ultimate authority made only in times of national crisis.³⁵ This reshuffle was accompanied by a tremendous spurt of lobbying at Edo castle among both fūdai and tōzama daimyo for support of Bakufu policy on immediate agreement with the United States' demands: if not full support then at least acceptance of the fact that Harris could not be stalled indefinitely.³⁶

With the appointment of Ii, the emergence of the Throne as a vital issue in politics, the imminence of consensus over completing treaty negotiations, and the shift of national focus from Edo to Kyoto, the stage was set for the final scenes in Shōin's life. He was barely twenty-eight years old, and a rōnin under house arrest in a city more than six hundred kilometres from Kyoto, but his death by decapitation would be brought about by the interaction of these four factors, outside his competence at all levels save that of his brilliant intellect.

In early July U.S. Consul Harris, seizing on reports of recent Anglo-French success in China as potential leverage, pressed for immediate conclusion of treaty agreements.³⁷ Tairō Ii was a pragmatist,

34. Tairō literally great councillor, sometimes incorrectly translated regent.

35. See further discussion in Beasley, op.cit., pp. 113-114.

36. Cosenza, Mario E. (ed.), The Complete Journals of Townsend Harris. Vermont and Tokyo, 1959, pp. 484-487, 491 and 505-513. Harris' journal entries for these dates (December 1857 through January 1858) note his constant frustration at negotiation procedures encountered in both Shimoda and Edo.

37. Harris had received intelligence reports in Shimoda via U.S. s.s. 'Mississippi' that the Treaty of Tientsin between China, Great Britain and France had been signed, and that British and French plenipotentiaries with supporting naval squadrons, were on their way to Japan. The Russian Putiatin was also due in Shimoda on his fifth visit.

whatever his traditional convictions may have been.³⁸ He was also a man of precision of thought, and though reluctant to act without imperial sanction, was confident the Emperor would hesitate to issue any edicts in direct contravention of Bakufu action. Moreover he was treading the delicate line of balance over the shogunal succession dispute made more urgent by the incumbent Iesada's lack of heirs and his rapidly failing health.³⁹ Ii's primary concern was therefore of necessity, assertion of Bakufu and the maintenance of national autonomy.

On 29th July 1858 Ii directed the Japanese negotiators to sign

38. Ii Naosuke, born in 1815 the youngest son of the wealthy fūdai daimyō of Hikone, had no expectations of succession to power. His youth was therefore spent in scholarly pursuits of his own. When he was assassinated in 1860 by Mito sympathizers in response to the political situation which he had generated, his death, according to Beasley, was by far "the most important political murder of the times" (Beasley, *op.cit.*, p.75). Despite this judgment, perhaps because in studies on Yoshida Shōin he has been cast in the part of arch-villain, most Western historians have treated him with scant respect. There is little detailed exposition of his political motives or objectives. He is more often summarily condemned. To Akamatsu he is a 'tyrant' (Akamatsu, Paul: *Meiji 1868*, London 1972, p. 136). To Wilson he is a "bully who overreacted" (Wilson, George: "Bakumatsu. Intellectual in Action: Hashimoto Sanai in the Political Crisis of 1858" in Craig and Shiveley, eds, *Personality in Japanese History*, Berkeley, 1970, p. 235). Only Murdoch, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, Chapter "Ii: Tairō", pp. 663-709, gives a sympathetic and detailed picture of a man who was more intelligent and politically perceptive than many other historians are willing to concede.
39. The two possible candidates were Tokugawa Yoshitomi of Kii (1846-66) and Hitotsubashi Keiki (1837-1913), one of Nariaki's sons. At the time of the dispute, Yoshitomi was considered too young for office, being only twelve years of age at his accession to office as 14th shogun in 1858. Hitotsubashi who finally succeeded him in 1866 as the last Tokugawa shogun, was feared by many as a thin end of the wedge of Mito power in Edo. The dispute was complicated by the intricate network of blood ties through intermarriage which linked both supporting parties with each other and with the throne.

the treaty between the United States and Japan.⁴⁰ Before sunset on that same day the exchange of signatures took place without imperial consent. In the following months similar treaties were signed with Holland, Great Britain, Russia and France.⁴¹ All these are well-known and documented events. It is the backlash on the domestic front creating a situation within which Shōin felt compelled to act with which our concern lies.

Ii's decision and its results split the nation in two, satisfying neither. Jōi supporters were mortally offended and the sonnō-jōi agitators forced to redefine their goals, becoming in the process a recognizable movement in the modern political sense.⁴² The supporters of Kaikoku, 'open the country', for their part, resented the sense of expediency and compulsion accompanying the final decision. The loosely-knit sonnō-jōi group moreover encompassed various shades of opinion. There were some who doubted that the Bakufu had any longer the ability to govern; there were those who wanted reform as a precondition of any support; there were those who saw the Bakufu as already defunct and subservient to the foreign powers, and those who saw restoration of imperial rule as a shining light in the future. So historically deeply-rooted was loyalty to the Bakuhan system generally and the Bakufu in particular, that few openly criticized it. Shōin himself admonished an isolated pamphlet writer who criticized the Bakufu, but before 1858 neither he nor any of his friends overtly expressed ideas that the Bakufu should or could be overthrown, let

40. Beasley, Select Documents, op.cit., pp. 183-189 for full text of the treaty. All Japan's nominated ports were to be opened for foreign trade and intercourse within twelve months, five Western nations progressively enjoying full diplomatic and commercial relations.

41. See Table 1, 1858, 'National Events'.

42. Craig, op.cit., p. 93, citing Tōyama Shigeki, Meiji Ishin, 1951, pp. 87-88.

alone overthrown by force or general military uprising. The sonnō-jōi group far from being radical with its own undercover agents and activities, had associated or blood ties with some of the highest families in the land including Kuge,⁴³ and worked openly through this network. The signing of the Harris treaties and Ii's tightening of controls against dissidence jolted them into new perceptions.⁴⁴

As in the case of the Imperial Court, the year 1858 was a year of national political emergence for Chōshū han. In the early years of Bakumatsu the han bureaucracy had been more preoccupied with domestic politics relating to concerns of the Tempō era than with involvement in national affairs.⁴⁵ Craig concedes that the underlying structures and forces of change which now became apparent were, however, the cumulative result of the experiences of the previous years.⁴⁶ A clique or faction of sonnō-jōi intellectuals dominated the Chōshū political scene, by no means confined to lower-ranking samurai. They embraced also a number of han administrative officials. In fact Shōin's own group of students and friends from the Shōka Sonjuku, being outside the ranks of bureaucratic support or too young as yet for administrative appointment, were put in the unsought position of forming a kind of left-wing faction, for the very reason of the sonnō-jōi platform's acceptability within the han bureaucracy. Shōin, despite physical constraint and his spatial separation from loyalist activities in Kyoto, like the han itself, was gradually enmeshed into national

43. For example, note that Shōin's Gūron pamphlets were passed quite readily into court circles through a senior court official.

44. See further Murdoch, op.cit., pp. 701-702.

45. Chōshū's Tempō Reform programmes were more advanced than those of many initiated elsewhere in Japan in response to the economic and political crises. Craig, op.cit., pp. 107-110.

46. Ibid., p. 116.

events. The foreign problem reaching a climax in the early winter of 1858 exacerbated the already dangerous elements in the domestic situation and created a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It hardened the lines of division in the nation and exaggerated the already authoritarian stance of Ii Naosuke. The signing of the treaties in mid-year marked the beginning, not the end of Japan's real struggle with the West, as well as the beginning of a political conflict at home that had many of the hallmarks of revolution.⁴⁷ Far from inciting revolution, Shōin could be seen to be himself the victim of revolutionary circumstances.

vi. The Final Days

What therefore were the prevailing circumstances within which Shōin's own sincerity and refusal to compromise would almost certainly lead to a violent end? What impelled him to confront the existing power structure by whatever dangerous or violent methods might appear necessary? What finally persuaded him the moment had come when he must shake himself free from intellect, "taking the leap from knowledge to action"⁴⁸ in the manner of the 'failed' heroes of historical tradition?⁴⁹ Answers to such questions may be found by turning once more to the domestic political framework in which the last act of Shōin's life was played out, and to the memorials and

47. Beasley, op.cit., p. 116, concludes his discussion of the signing of the Harris treaties with this statement.

48. Ō Yōmei philosophy.

49. Compare Appendix A. - Postscript, Shōin: "When a hero fails in his purpose...". See also Morris, Ivan, The Nobility of Failure, New York, 1975, pp. 181-183, for the thesis that the true hero of Japanese history and tradition is the "failed hero".

admonitions which reflected his deepest convictions. Frustration and anger at the failure of his Mencian-Confucian ideology to realize change, drove him to advocate violent action which, however, was still motivated along Confucian lines. Violent action, in his understanding, was still the final obligation of the shishi, his own violent death the final gesture of loyalty and concern.

Late summer and early autumn of 1858 was a period of acute civil unrest especially in Kyoto,⁵⁰ when secret plots and manoeuvrings were the *modus operandi*. Being by definition secret, and therefore undercover, it is difficult to unravel the romantic and partisan interpretations of events from the true record. A picture emerges nevertheless of many men of high intent on both sides of the debate striving to find a compromise solution while the Bakufu sought to preserve its own autonomy, conceding nothing to either side. But the treaties were a reality, and the positive action taken by Tairō Ii to eliminate all opposition to his policies,⁵¹ evoked an equally positive response

50. *Kari jōyaku* - the period of intrigue and unrest surrounding the signing of the Harris Treaties of 1858.

51. During the early months of the Purge - August to November - Matsudaira Tadakata (Tadaki) was dismissed as rōjū. Matsudaira Shungaku and Tokugawa Yoshikumi of Owari, both daimyo of high status were dismissed as hanshū for backing Hitotsubashi. Toki Yorimune and Kawaji Toshiaki likewise. Hitotsubashi Keiki was exiled. Nariaki of Mito was confined to his Komagome mansion on 13th August. Hashimoto Sanai (1834-59) was arrested and executed as Shungaku's agent. Saigō Takamori (1828-77) of Satsuma, the han agent in Kyoto was exiled. Nariakira of Satsuma died in August, thereby saving himself great indignity. Yamauchi of Tosa was retired.

By January 1859, the Purge had reached Kyoto nobility, with
 - Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-91) related by marriage to Yamauchi
 - Takatsukasa Masamichi (1789-1868), brother-in-law of Nariaki
 - Takatsukasa Sukehiro (1807-67), son of Masamichi
 - Konoe Tadahira (1808-98), related to Nariakira;
 all in house confinement and forced into retirement.
 A number of loyalists were also detained.

across the nation. As events moved from crisis to crisis, the intrusion of the 'Emperor's Thoughts' into a situation already lively with imperial theories of the Mitogaku scholars, forced a change in the political dynamics.⁵² The sonnō-jōi loyalist movement was now a visible presence and neither persuasion nor the suppression and violence of the Ansei Purge, could force the opposition to the shogun's policies to change its course.

As disturbing to the balance of power within the bakuhan system as this purge of key people from office, was Ii's attempt to draw into the decision-making processes fūdai daimyo who, by custom, were excluded from them. At the same time he alienated those very daimyo on whose continued support much of the stability of the system depended, such as Tokugawa Nariaki of Mito, and the tōzama whose tacit co-operation was equally essential to the power balance. Moreover, there were also officials within the bureaucracy itself prepared to press openly for structural reforms. But even more dangerous was the loyalist movement to which reference has been made, firstly because it questioned the legitimacy of the Bakufu institution itself and secondly, because it became increasingly identified with a demand that "men of talent"⁵³ should be given scope for their abilities in administration, whatever their status.⁵⁴

One further disequilibrating factor whose influence would

52. Beasley, op.cit., p. 140ff., for a discussion on these issues.

53. Merit appointment and promotion belonged to the Confucian concept of order in society. In Tokugawa times it was for all practical purposes restricted in application to the samurai class. In the nineteenth century the inherent conflict between theory and practice was at the centre of much political dissent. See further Smith, Thomas C., "'Merit' as Ideology in the Tokugawa Period", Dore, R.P. (ed.), Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan, Princeton, N.J., 1970, pp. 71-90.

54. Beasley, op.cit., p. 141.

persist for several years was a proposal floated by Kujō Naotada (1798-1871)⁵⁵ that a marriage should be arranged between the Emperor's young sister, Kazunomiya,⁵⁶ and the equally young shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi,⁵⁷ who had succeeded to office on 14th September. This unprecedented plan was welcomed in Bakufu circles as a means of harmonizing shogunal rule and imperial authority, thereby uniting the nation at a time of crisis, and strengthening it to a point where the recently concluded treaties might be abrogated with impunity.⁵⁸ It would also strike a blow against the dominant Mito sympathizers at Court.⁵⁹ Rōjū Manabe Akikatsu (1802-84),⁶⁰ the special shogunal emissary to Kyoto, would take up this proposal officially in October alongside his other more onerous responsibilities.⁶¹ As it transpired, contrary to the expectations of the Bakufu, rumours circulating at Kyoto concerning the expedient marriage arrangements, served only to exacerbate an already uneasy situation.

As Ii reached methodically higher and higher into Imperial Court circles for scapegoats, Yoshida Shōin's reputation and that of the Shōka Sonjuku was increasing. It was two and a half years since Shōin had returned to the family residence under the terms of domiciliary

55. Kujō Naotada (Hisatada), Kampaku (1856-62) and Kuge friend of Ii Naosuke.

56. Both were born in 1846, Princess Kazu was currently affianced to the Court noble Prince Arisugawa Taruhito. A marriage between Iemochi and Kazunomiya eventually took place four years later in Edo.

57. Lee, Edwin B., "Alliance Between Court and Bakufu: The Kazunomiya Marriage", *MN*, XXII, Nos. 3-4, 1967, pp. 290-304.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

59. This had been attempted by the confinement of Mito Nariaki in Edo, 7 days after the Harris Treaty was signed. The defeated shogunal candidate, his son Keiki, was banished.

60. Manabe was ordered to make arrangements for the betrothal before returning to Edo. Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 292 fn. citing *Ii Ke Kisho Shūroku* 4.

61. Manabe's primary responsibilities were the obtaining of imperial approval for the treaties, and the escalating of the Purge in Kyoto.

confinement, and a year since his appointment as principal-administrator. The second stage of the building extensions had been completed in March doubling the classroom accommodation (Plate 27).⁶² Shortly afterwards at the request of the han authorities he extended his programme in the theory and practice of military science, and introduced Western-style rifle drill. In August twenty-six young men, probably farmers, from Hetamura joined these exercises at the sonjuku following with more general combined field manoeuvres at Ōihama.⁶³ There is no evidence in either the Zenshū or Hagi Historical records to support the view that this was anything but Shōin's response to the han's own perception of military necessity in an uncertain political climate. Some commentators have placed much emphasis on the incident in order to prove that "Shōin had gone beyond toying with a new form of military organization and had actually begun drilling commoners in the use of the rifle".⁶⁴ It should be noted that provision for such exercises had been made in the construction of rifle butts on the premises of Shin Meirinkan in 1848⁶⁵ ten years before. Moreover, one year earlier, Yamada Uemon had sent a memorial to Tsuboi Kuemon suggesting the formation of rifle units and was confined to his home for his presumption.⁶⁶ In 1858, eleven years later, the same Yamada had been recalled in order to implement such a plan, forming a han rifle unit which was practising daily on a field outside

62. The facilities were not spacious. The original classroom measured eight *jō* and the extension ten and a half *jō*. A *jō* is the traditional carpenter's measurement for building space, i.e. 6' x 3' (approx.). Plate 27 shows side views and entrance via verandah to the main classroom as extended in 1858. Plate 26 shows the main *genkan* or entrance to the Sugi house itself.

63. YSZ I: 35-36. Details of personnel are not specified.

64. Huber, op.cit., p. 76.

65. Plate 32, left top. See also Chapter Three.

66. Craig, op.cit., p. 134.

Hagi jōkamachi by 1859.⁶⁷ In this context, it is pushing credibility too far to accept the view that Shōin had "gone beyond toying" with a new form of military equipment with some wild purpose of training private armies in acts of terrorism. In a presentation paper to the han authorities Jigi Ryakuron ("Outlines of Contemporary Justice")⁶⁸ he urged the use of arms on behalf of the Imperial cause should the Bakufu persist in its defiance of the Emperor's stated wishes on the Harris treaties. This Jigi marked the beginning of his conscious intervention in han politics and an acknowledgment of Chōshū's new status on the national scene as a potential leader of the loyalist movement. More significantly for this discussion, he backed his argument with a carefully compiled statistical overview of Chōshū's modern military potential on the basis of population distribution of able-bodied men irrespective of status.⁶⁹ It was in fact a blue-print for its mobilization and deployment of a new-style han military force, but like Ronsaku Bōgi ("Treatise on Defence Measures") written in the same year, it was a reassertion of pride and confidence in his traditional role of Yamagaryū adviser to the Hanshū forfeited eight years previously. This advocacy of a han army was not incitement to revolution but a Mencian philosopher's advocacy of action consistent with the highest principles. It reflected his long-time involvement with the military training of both his family's Yamaga association and the

67. Ibid., p. 135. Yamada's ideas are preserved in a report which criticizes the present deployment and training for samurai of *ashigaru* and *keisotsu* rank (the lowest) in view of the current discussion on the possibility of forming a unit of peasant troops to cope with the foreign threat.

68. YSZ XII: 198-206.

69. Ibid., 204-5. Shōin adopted a ratio of 1:100 of an estimated total han population of 150,000 men in this category from the four social strata. A special unit of 500 from the 1,500 called up should be put at the disposal of the loyalist cause in Kyoto. This would include farmers' sons.

Meirinkan curriculum. In such circumstances it should be construed an indirect rather than direct action as far as Shōin is concerned. He was advocating that Chōshū take upon itself its rightful responsibility under these dire circumstances and as called for by Mencian-Confucian philosophy. The action was a symptom of philosophical rectitude not terrorist tenacity.

Jigi Ryakuron is usually discussed in conjunction with the more emotional and better known Taigi no Gisu ("Discussion on the Great Justice")⁷⁰ which preceded it as illustrative of Shōin's move from theory to practice, reason to extremism, criticism of failure of Bakufu policy to personalized condemnation of shogun and his administration. In fact both memorials are very reasonable documents and addressed to two quite different problems, the Jigi to practical solutions, ways and means, the Taigi no Gisu⁷¹ to a philosophical if passionate expression of Shōin's conviction that the Bakufu was in serious violation of the nation's historical constitutional principles. By pre-empting the Emperor's approval of the treaties, it had trespassed on the prerogative of the Imperial right to rule on which alone the Bakufu's power rested. If the daimyo were to isolate the Bakufu, this could assist in bringing it to a realization of its dereliction of duty. The Hanshu should therefore reverse his decision to pay his sankin-kōtai visit to Edo in the following year.

The crime of the shogun cannot be
contained in heaven and earth;
gods and men are all enraged....
If in this day our han should

70. YSZ V: 192-194 for full text.

71. Earl, op.cit., pp. 133-134. It was directed to Lord Mōri on 21st August 1858 and expressed for the first time clear anti-Bakufu sentiment. It was written during a time of patriotic fervour after news of the Harris treaties has reached Hagi and was followed by extra military drill.

decisively propose the cause of *taigi* (Supreme duty) to the nation, as a result of the public wrath of millions of people...the shogun would, as a matter of course, be isolated. ⁷²

Shōin's denunciation of the shogun but not of the Bakufu structure, was consistent with the Confucian philosophy of state which exacted obligation according to hereditary delegation of duty,⁷³ did not seek reform of the institutional structure within which that obligation must operate. For all his extravagant plots and plans, Shōin never reached the absolute definition of the "overthrow of Bakufu" adopted by the *tōbaku* movement in the mid-1860s. His response to circumstances at the time of writing the two memorials under discussion was that of the offended intellectual, the enraged but ineffective ideologue, and evidence is lacking of the co-ordinated planning and anticipation which could be considered an essential basis for revolutionary action.

There is another aspect of Shōin's ongoing thought processes revealed in these documents which significantly contributed to his ultimate alienation from his han authorities, thereby contributing to his death. He was now thinking in broader terms of the han's role in national affairs in a crisis situation, in revolutionary terms of his own intervention. This in no way diminished his own intense han loyalty; rather it increased it alongside his growing national consciousness, a phenomena discussed earlier in the context of localism versus centralism as an issue in the making of Japanese history. He remained a political conservative, straining his intellectual sinews to find a means of using existing institutions - the Imperial Court, the han, the sankin-kōtai system - to preserve the integrity of the Land of the Gods. The duty of Admonition, where evil existed,

72. YSZ V: 192-194. Earl, op.cit., p. 207.

73. This word is used in its primary sense of entrusting authority to a deputy.

and the responsibility for further action as indicated in *Taigi*, lay heavily on his mind. His efforts to deflect the Hanshū's determination to carry out his imminent sankin-kōtai obligations and, having failed in this purpose, to involve himself in the more radical affair at Fushimi in the New Year⁷⁴ show this. He, however encountered an unexpected obstacle to the fulfilment of his hopes for the future of the nation in the newly acquired status of Chōshū in minds of the loyalists. The han bureaucracy for all its professed Imperial loyalty, was much less amenable to extreme ideas than the more progressive minds in Kyoto in the wake of the signing of the treaties. Chōshū stood firmly by an official policy which should be one of loyalty to the Court, trust to the Bakufu, and filial duty to the ancestors (of the House of Mōri).⁷⁵ With certain amendations this policy was maintained as the basis of the han's involvement in national affairs until the *tōbaku* movement⁷⁶ swamped the nation in 1865. Notwithstanding unprecedented direct appeal from the Imperial Court to Chōshū,⁷⁷ clothed in vague pomposities but making it clear the Court needed a champion and was hoping 'someone'⁷⁸ would come forward, the han

74. Also known as the *Yōgasaku* Affair, 18/2/59. Shōin, and a number of samurai and senior Kyoto loyalists, planned to waylay the Lord Mōri and his entourage and persuade Mōri to intervene in the crisis existing between the Court and Bakufu by having audience with the Emperor.

75. Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

76. *Tōbaku*: "Overthrow the Bakufu".

77. The han reply was framed in a conciliatory way: It began: "Though we are unworthy, we have venerated the Imperial Court for many years. When the Bakufu questioned us concerning the Imperial answer, we replied that the Imperial will should be followed; that if the foreigners are dealt with by a country where hearts are united, then the Imperial prestige would be established."

Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

78. "Secret edict", dated 11/8/58, *ibid.*, 121.

remained firmly of the opinion that the duty of the House of Mōri and its domain was "to stand between the Court and Bakufu, to carry out the Imperial Will, establish a union of Court and Bakufu, and bring together the various han in the cause",⁷⁹ thus preserving the Mōri reputation which would "shine forth for ten thousand generations".⁸⁰ The policy, needless to say, outlined no specific plan of action except to indicate the han would await the occurrence of an opportunity to act. It did, however, indicate a jealous guarding of its new status and a new sense of han identity and patriotism. This was particularly noticeable in the Chōshū samurai among whom a fierce pride in the pre-Tokugawa prestige and glory of the Mōri House, and a desire to revive its past greatness was increasing.⁸¹ This passionate han patriotism was consonant with theories of localism and centralism discussed above in connection with Shōin's own undiminished confidence and loyalty to his lord and domain.⁸²

Until December 1858 han authorities were prepared to be indulgent to Shōin within the parameter of his legal status, by reason one presumes, of his exceptional intellectual qualities and his long standing teacher-disciple relationship with the Hanshū. The same statement of national policy alternatives was, however, realistic in its acknowledgment of the problems it faced, stating that a false move in domestic policies could incur the displeasure of the Bakufu and act according to popular opinion,⁸³ it could well have "the effect of

79. Ibid., pp. 119-121.

80. Suematsu: Bōchō Kaiten shi II, pp. 241-242, cited ibid., p. 122.

81. Craig discusses this in op.cit., p. 122.

82. 'History versus the Historian'. As centrifugal forces move a nation towards national unity, local consciousness increases.

83. Zokuron: popular opinion, vulgar view.

obliterating all our proposals of the past years". It inferred that if it should happen, and "we must silence those within the han who possess a will to action", then so be it.⁸⁴ Chōshū, like the other great domains, was prepared to 'hedge its bets' and mark time on the side lines.

For Shōin the imperative was otherwise. As news reached Hagi of the escalating Purge and the imprisonment of his friend and respected confidant Umeda Umpin, Shōin was beside himself with imperial fervour and righteous indignation. The lines dividing thought and action had become less absolute and he felt himself called to transcend the limitations of his physical confines. He now seemed to sustain two levels of existence, that of dedicated teacher of a growing number of students and writer of numerous letters and memorials expressing his disquiet to whomever would listen,⁸⁶ and less overtly, that of sonnō-jōi loyalist deeply involved with affairs at the Imperial capital. This is the Shōin who was best remembered and immortalized by his students, the Shōin of the last weeks before imprisonment, the image passed down to posterity⁸⁷ and seized on by Tokutomi.⁸⁸ Shōin, more than ever, was conscious that the range of choices available to a man under house arrest and therefore on a kind of bond of good

84. These quotations are part of the document from Suematsu, op.cit., pp. 241-242, translated in Craig, op.cit., p. 124. The underlining is my own emphasis.

85. Umeda Umpin (1826-1859) from Obama domain in north central Japan; a leading Confucian scholar in Edo and imperial loyalist "leader of the most active loyalist group in Kyoto". Through Umeda, Chōshū samurai had access to Court loyalists. Hackett, op.cit., p.12, fn.27.

86. Table 2, 1858-59.

87. Reminiscences of the Shōka Sonjuku, for example, by a student Amano Gomin (1841-1903), are preserved in YSZ XII: 187-200. These are frequently quoted as a standard account. Like Fukuzawa, Yukichi's recollections of feudal Japan, one suspects they are highly coloured by later experience.

88. See Chapter One, - Tokutomi as an historian.

behaviour, were limited. Moreover, he was vulnerable to retribution for any rash act or unacceptable move he made, not only to the Bakufu which had directed punishment in the first place, but to a han bureaucracy which was less sympathetic than it had been previously. In the apologia written after the Incident at Shimoda while he was serving his first term of imprisonment, he stated:

If we cannot have harmony with our Lord, then it is better to die, proclaiming his injustice (i.e. remonstrating with him), and even better to be condemned to starvation in a dungeon. If these things happen to us, we seem to have no results whatsoever, no merits, no honour; but we have done our duty as subjects by giving a good example to our descendants. ⁸⁹

Even in 1856 from Noyama prison, this meditation on Mencian thought⁹⁰ was no mere pious philosophizing, but had the hard edge of truth. In late 1858, in the last year of his life, he had no reason to revise his interpretation of the Mencian injunction. It reflected harsh reality and experience.

If the sovereign has great faults, they (the people) ought to make remonstrances; If this is repeated without receiving any attention, they may change the occupant of the throne.⁹¹

He accepted the right of remonstrance. The right of revolution implicit in the passage from Mencius was another matter. At Shimoda he had written:

Weeping we seem as fools,
Laughing as rogues;
Silent we can only be.⁹²

Now he was no longer impelled to silence nor inactivity. In 1856 he had been thinking forward into a situation where he himself might

89. YSZ II: 263-264. "Additional Notes on Mencius", Komō Yōwa (1856); Faber, E., The Mind of Mencius, p. 244, cited in van Straelen, op.cit., p. 91.

90. Shōin is reflecting on the different concepts of righteous revolution in China and Japan.

91. Ibid., Faber, p. 244.

92. Appendix A. Postscript.

become involved in the crime of omission simply by failing to act:

By nature it is repugnant for me to speak
lightly about things which touch my heart
....I have a reason why I do not speak day
and night about the crimes of the shogun.
Namely it is in vain when I accuse him because
I am imprisoned. And because I live here with-
out speaking openly of the crimes of the shogun,
therefore I can say that in a sense - I take
part in his crimes. This is also the case
with my Lord....If one day, I explain the wrongs
to my Lord, and he does not listen, I shall⁹³
sacrifice my life in order that he might repent.

He had explained, he had remonstrated, but the Hanshū did not listen.

The decision to act had been made for him. In his agitation at what he perceived as his Emperor relinquished to the mercy of the barbarian foreigners by a Bakufu whose reason for existence was his protection, and he himself unable to move freely in defence, Shōin encouraged some of his more senior students to go to Kyoto, to seek out the truth of the situation, contribute where they could and report back to Hagi.

At first this was not a revolutionary innovation but in line with Shōin's understanding of best educational practice. He himself had enjoyed the privilege of educational journeys for the collection of information and experience, a common Tokugawa method of completing samurai training. Earlier in the year two at least of his more advanced students, Katsura Kogoro (later Kido Kōin) and Kusaka Genzui, his brother-in-law, had been in Kyoto and naturally reported to Shōin on their return.

On 6th September, six senior Shōka Sonjuku students⁹⁴ left Hagi for Kyoto and Edo carrying letters of introduction to some of Shōin's

93. Shōin to Mokurin, from prison, Ansei 3, 8th month (September 1856) cited and translated van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

94. In September 1859 they had been enrolled at the Shōka Sonjuku less than twelve months, having had their major schooling at the Meirinkan.

loyalist contacts, notably Yanagawa Seigan and Umeda Umpin in Kyoto,⁹⁵ and Sakuma Shōzan in Edo. Among their number were Itō Hakubun (Hirobumi) in his seventeenth year and one of the most promising, Yamagata Aritomo,⁹⁶ three years his senior, Shinagawa Yajirō and Nomura Wasaku⁹⁷; all of them were later to play important roles in the Meiji Restoration programme. When Shōin sent off his senior students to observe, to contribute and write at the Imperial capital and beyond, it was consistent with his long-held views on education, not evidence of planned revolution. Nor was it a new concept to maintain a network of correspondence between such close friends. Traditionally the writing of letters had been the mark of the scholar and these men were young scholars, and such scholarly sharing had been perfected in Tokugawa times.⁹⁸ Shōin himself with his wide circle of friends and contacts made during his journey was a prolific correspondent as has already been noted. That his students should rapidly gain skill and diligence in their reporting and were of enormous help to Shōin in his restricted circumstances, is something which grew out of the prevailing situation.

There was an atmosphere of crisis in Kyoto. Low ranking samurai, like Shōin's students, gravitating to the city, became more feckless

95. Umeda Umpin and Rai Mikisaburō were arrested shortly afterwards. Mikisaburō was the son of the eminent historian Rai Sanyō. Umeda would die in gaol as the result of torture. The priest Gesshō, to Shōin's great grief, died before the end of the year from natural causes, probably avoiding a like fate.

96. Yamagata was scarcely known to Shōin. He was recommended to Shōin by the han authorities as worth sending to Kyoto. See further Hackett, Roger F., Yamagata Aritomo, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971, pp. 30-31.

97. Craig, op.cit., pp. xv-xx lists most Chōshū samurai activists' names with Kanji.

98. Huber, op.cit., pp. 76-77, makes heavy emphasis on the "crucial pattern of co-ordination in dispersal" (p. 76), a point taken up later in this thesis.

in the means used to publicize and force their opinions even onto the Court itself. Assassination plots directed at Bakufu officials were discussed freely and some Mito scholars, involved in a high level plot to assassinate the Tairō Ii in Edo, were seeking support from other clansmen. Shōin was adamant that neither he nor Chōshū should appear lacking in initiative, but at the same time cast around for another suitable target for demonstration of loyalty.⁹⁹ In a letter to his father explaining those unusual and adventurous days in retrospect he wrote:

If I were to join in the execution plot (to kill Ii) people would laugh at me saying I simply followed the lead of others. Therefore I arranged with a few of my own friends and am going to Kyoto with the object of killing Manabe....It is our resolution to cut off his head and impale it on a bamboo, and thus manifest our resolution to serve the rightful cause.¹⁰⁰

They were brave words but less than a year later it was Shōin's head but not Manabe's which would fall. In October 1858 quite beside himself with anxiety about Umeda Umpin¹⁰¹ he wrote to Matsuura Shōdo, a loyalist contact in Edo, outlining wild schemes of assassination against Bakufu officials including Mizuno Tadaki. He also embarked on an equally irresponsible plan to free gaoled patriots in the notorious Fushimi prison, one of whom was Umeda Umpin. He wrote to a loyalist Akane Takehito, with detailed instructions on how it might be accomplished but it was never put into effect.

99. It was late November before it was obvious to Shōin that Manabe Akikatsu, special shogunal emissary to Kyoto was such a target.
100. Shoin's farewell letter to his father, YSZ VI: 407. Written in Denmachō prison, dated 15th November 1859. Lanman, *op.cit.*, p.252, adds, "We shall take all the blame for everything that follows upon ourselves".
101. Umeda Umpin was a prime target for Ii's purge. He was not a wild activist but a dangerous Bakufu opponent. Huber, *op.cit.*, p. 78, considers him "one of the realm's most articulate reformist spokesmen". Jansen, Marius B., *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration*, Stanford, 1961, p. 71, categorizes him as a scholar of Chinese learning "sufficiently outstanding to have helped draft some of the chief documents coming from the Court".

There is no doubt that these were all frantic efforts to find avenues for the intrusion of action which Shōin was now convinced was fully justified. He had kept up a constant stream of memorials, admonitions, countermeasures and letters of which Jiseiron ("Treatise on the Present Situation") written in November is the most famous. He despatched it to the loyalist Kuge Ōhara Shigenori for presentation to the Emperor, with a covering letter urging Ōhara to visit Hagi to stir up sonnō-jōi enthusiasm, but nothing came of it. A little earlier rumours had been circulated that a selected group of samurai from Mito, Owari and Echizen were preparing to invade Kyoto and free the Imperial Court, a rumour which probably emanated from the loyalists themselves in order to foment tension. A more reliable source of information was correspondence between Mito loyalists and loyalist kuge at Kyoto, which Bakufu agents (metsuke) had uncovered. This revealed a conspiracy to have Mito Nariaki freed by Imperial decree, and in fact, on the day Shogun Iesada was officially pronounced dead,¹⁰² a 'secret' decree was put into the hands of Nariaki's eldest son, Yoshiatsu, the new Hanshū. Such a decree broke the established protocol that the Emperor communicated with the daimyo only through the shogun. The decree urged Yoshiatsu "to expel the barbarians...and restore tranquility to the Emperor's bosom".¹⁰³ Furthermore, it added bluntly:

The Bakufu has shown great disregard of public opinion in concluding treaties without waiting for the opinion of the Court, and in disgracing princes so closely allied by blood to the Shogun.¹⁰⁴

The last clause referred no doubt to the unfortunate Nariaki's confinement in his Edo mansion. The whole episode innovatory, if not

102. 14th September 1858, one month after his death.

103. Murdoch, op.cit., III, p. 688, citing Kinse Shiryaku, no further details.

104. Ibid.

revolutionary in execution, added to the widespread uncertainty and unrest.

Before the purge which followed shortly afterwards had taken firm hold in Kyoto, the Chōshū administration well aware of the explosive situation and alarmed at Shōin's increasing indiscretions, ordered two of his students, Kusakura Genzui and Akagawa Naojirō, to return to Hagi from Kyoto. Irie Sugizō, another student and close friend with more moderate loyalist sympathies, was asked to reason with Shōin over his extreme stance. He was to be warned that should he continue to act like an irresponsible student, then he must face the consequences and expect re-imprisonment.¹⁰⁵ Sugi Umetarō, his elder brother, was also asked to admonish him, but it appeared to no avail. His fervour was separating him from his friends, although the cause for which he was prepared to lay down his life was gaining momentum, even official acceptance. In Kyoto there were now powerful men identifying themselves as opponents of Bakufu policy. Former Kampaku Takatsukasa Masamichi's *yashiki* or city mansion became the sonnō-jōi adherents' base and consultative centre in the maelstrom of indignation, half-digested reports and hard-headed thinking which was the hallmark of Kyoto politics. Shōin, still without preaching the overthrow of the Tokugawa institution itself, continued to express the conviction that against a Bakufu which had violated the Imperial wishes only direct action remained. Destruction tactics directed towards the establishment itself were not definitely stated until after the Yōgasaku affair.

Two events combined to create the circumstances in which Yoshida Shōin was to fulfil 'his painful destiny'.¹⁰⁶ One was the well conceived

105. Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 160, basing his discussion on Suematsu Bōchō *kaiten shi*, II, p. 263ff.

106. Ivan Morris' phrase.

conspiracy by a number of Mito loyalists who planned to assassinate Ii.¹⁰⁷ The other was the arrival in Edo of Nagano Shuzen, Ii's chief agent in Kyoto, with the news of conspiracies at the Imperial capital, and an urgent request that drastic action was required before it was too late. Rōjū Manabe Akikatsu,¹⁰⁸ the shogun's special emissary to Kyoto, had originally been ordered to Kyoto early in September to explain the foreign issues and seek Imperial approval for the Harris treaty. Delayed in Edo because of the shogun's death, he was despatched in haste to Kyoto with additional orders to crush anti-Bakufu elements there, purge Ii's enemies and, as a secret rider, make definite arrangements for the Kazunomiya betrothal.¹⁰⁹ By 23rd October there were present in Kyoto not only this shogunal emissary extraordinary but also the highest ranking Tokugawa representative in the city (Kyoto *shoshidai*)¹¹⁰ to implement Manabe's plans. The first part of his brief was carried out in a realistic and careful manner, since Manabe was certain the Emperor's prolonged resistance to the treaties was due to "lack of detailed information concerning foreign affairs".¹¹¹ However, he later reported that:

...there are those, however, who put about exaggerated reports of foreigners' attitudes ...and the Emperor's ideas may gradually have been contaminated by these base and idle rumours. However, full investigation shows that there are some most important persons among those guilty of this crime.¹¹²

107. Ii was assassinated by Mito samurai in March 1860 at the Sakurada-mon of Edo castle, four months after Shōin's execution.

108. Manabe Akikatsu (1802-84), fūdai daimyo of Sabae (50,000 koku) and Shimōsa-no-kami; rōjū, 1858-60.

109. Lee, *op.cit.*, MN, "Kazunomiya marriage", p. 292.

110. *Shoshidai* controlled access of feudal lords to the Imperial Court.

111. Beasley, *Select Documents*, *op.cit.*, p. 193. Manabe Akikatsu to Kampaku (Kujō Naotada), 21 December 1858, p. 193.

112. *Ibid.*

It was against these 'important persons' particularly that Manabe used the purge, after over-ruling the resident authorities' reluctance,¹¹³ and in March 1859, the Minister of the Right, Takatsukasa Sukehiro, and Ministers of the Centre and Left, Sanjō and Konoe respectively, the highest Imperial officials, were forced into retirement and some of their retainers imprisoned,¹¹⁴ thus successfully gagging further protest.¹¹⁵ Manabe's repressive campaign hardened the lines of opposition and his negotiations at Court set the future course of Japan's foreign policy.

This somewhat prolonged discussion of Manabe's presence and performance at Kyoto in the final months of 1858 is necessary in order to understand Shōin's actions, and the level of highest negotiation into which 'righteousness' and 'sincerity' had propelled this low ranking samurai of a tozama domain. The Ii assassination plot and news of the purge, convinced Shōin that Chōshū samurai, rather than joining with Mito loyalists, should initiate an equally daring plot of their own and strike at the very heart of Bakufu deceit. During late November, devastated by the news of Umeda Umpin's arrest and Gesshō's death, Shōin agonized over plans for Manabe's murder, resisting all attempts by friends like Irie and Nomura to dissuade him. He had decided by early December to break confinement and be present himself in Kyoto. But his security which had taken a lenient view of his many visitors was tightened. In order to avoid the wrath of the

113. The reluctant authority, Shoshidai Sakai, was quickly replaced by a more docile Kujō Naotada.

114. Beasley, *op.cit.*, p. 137, fn. 38.

115. Manabe did not succeed in gaining Court approval until 2/2/59. Even then it was only a condition that the policy of Seclusion would be resumed 'after proper measures for the exigencies of the situation had been taken', *ibid.*, p. 194. Imperial Court to Manabe Akikatsu, 2 February 1859.

Bakufu and present a firm policy in its own right, the han took it upon itself to restrain such wild activities and curb its own samurai. He was first ordered to stay confined to the house and then on 5th December was arrested and returned to Noyama prison on a charge of unpatriotic activities. Later in the month the plans for Manabe's assassination failed.

After the tumultuous events of 1858, the crisis year, the months preceding Shōin's removal under guard to Edo on 21st May passed quietly. From the time of his re-imprisonment, though he continued to urge his Hanshū to refuse his Edo duties in no uncertain terms, he seemed to have set his face towards Edo and his ultimate fate. He began writing a letter of farewell to his parents in the proper Confucian style and in other ways setting his house in order. Early in the New Year he had taken a vow of fasting but was soon dissuaded by his father and elder brother. Eight Sonjuku students went to the han authorities to plead his cause and seek an explanation of the charges against him. They were immediately placed under house arrest but four were released by 26th February when most of them left for Kyoto.¹¹⁶ Evidence of the Hanshū's continuing sympathy and confidence in his probity was apparent in the granting of permission for Shōin's release from prison during a serious illness of his father. His memorials and propositions still crisscrossed the country among loyalist sympathizers and friends. Some of them, Seiki no Uta, Kōkushi Shi and Ruishōshu¹¹⁷ remaining anthology pieces in school texts to the present day. The most famous, Ryūkon Roku ("Record of an Everlasting Spirit") is dealt with more fully in Chapter Five.

116. Irie, Yoshida, Nomura and Shinagawa went to Kyoto but both Irie and Nomura were back in Hagi by 8th April when Lord Mōri left for Edo (HSR).

117. See Table 3, 1859. They translate as "The Song of the Spirit of Rectitude (Righteousness)", "Aspirations of a Hero" and "Collection of the Pinetree of Tears".

Shōin's name was now well known nationally in loyalist circles. Early in February two loyalists from the domains of Bitchū and Harima on the Inland Sea arrived in Hagi to consult with Shōin over another serious anti-Bakufu move in which they required Lord Mōri's co-operation. In what became known as the *Yōgasaku* Affair, they attempted to persuade the Chōshū daimyo to detour via Kyoto on his sankin-kōtai journey east, and there lobby kuge for the Emperor's intervention in the national situation. The plan, though it had Shōin's wholehearted support, did not succeed, and the Chōshū Hanshu left as planned for Edo in the spring, as arranged, to Shōin's great grief. His personal need to 'get the records straight' led to his writing a lengthy and sharply worded paper (*Yōgasaku Shui*) in which he made clear his own opinions and the hopelessness he felt over his lord's lack of response to admonition. He also reiterated that there was no doubt in his mind that his first and only loyalty was to the Emperor. The final nail must have been driven into Shōin's coffin, metaphorically speaking, when he heard reports of the Imperial Court's letter to Manabe:

The Emperor fully understands that in the circumstances the Bakufu could have done no other than it did; and he will therefore exercise forbearance on this occasion. 118

To Shōin even the Emperor seemed to be unsure of the meaning of "Land of the Gods". Yet he is able to write a few days before his death, in his last letter to the family in Hagi:

Because our holy land has not yet been brought to shame, above there stands the blessed Emperor and below innumerable and true subjects. Therefore I beg you not to feel despondent. 119

118. Beasley, *Select Documents*, *op.cit.*, p. 193. Imperial Court to Manabe Akikatsu, 2 February 1859. Manabe is here acting as official representative of the Bakufu.

119. Translated from the German. Dumoulin, Heinrich, "Yoshida Shōin: 1830-1859", *MN* I, 1938, p. 358.

When Lord Mōri left for Edo on 8th April, Shōin's disillusionment with the establishment was deep, especially as it was known that nine days later Manabe was back in Edo with fourteen or fifteen political prisoners for trial and punishment.

Whom shall we rely upon of the several lords
of the Bakufu? What shall I do first to
restore the country to the Emperor? Where is
the fittest place for a samurai to die?

Ansei 6/25/4.¹²⁰

Shortly before Lord Mōri left for Edo there came an order from the Bakufu ordering him to transfer Shōin to Edo.

Shōin received his summons phlegmatically and prepared for the end. The day after the Bakufu orders were received in Hagi, Shoin's father and brother, Sugi Yurinosuke and Sugi Umetarō, were dismissed from their han appointments although Umetarō being an able administrator was reinstated shortly afterwards. Shōin wrote an apology to his father expressing his deepest feelings, which began

I Yoshida Torajirō have been guilty of great errors,
and have offended against the law of my country, yet
still my life has been preserved.

In looking back over the last twenty-nine years I
find I have frequently passed through great dangers;
in fact my very existence has often been in peril...
I have been a great offender and a bad son; but
if I remain silent at the present crisis of our
Empire, the result may be the destruction of the
Imperial Government. Behold how viciously the
Bakufu authorities conduct their business!

He added significantly that:

I am not (un)mindful of my duties to you, but I
wish you to understand me that I have felt as if
I were dead for a long time. ¹²¹

120. Lanman, op.cit., p. 174.

121. YSZ VI: 406-408. Final letter to father, uncle and brother written on hearing the news of his summons to answer the Bakufu Enquiry into Dissidence. See also van Straelen, op.cit., pp. 106-107; Lanman, op.cit., p. 252.

Shōin then wrote a letter to Nagai Uta,¹²² the chief Chōshū bureaucracy supervisor, deeply regretting the dishonour he had brought on the han and saying he did not wish to cause him or the han government any misfortune:

For some time I have severely reproached many for their disloyalty and unrighteousness so that naturally now I must sacrifice myself to the national good and I am quite ready to do it.¹²³

He drew strength from the Mencian adage which he carried to Edo with him embroidered on a hand towel. He is said to have placed it before him during interrogation. It read:

Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity who did not move others,¹²⁴

to which he added his own conviction that if Heaven appreciated his sincere concern for his country, the Bakufu officials must surely concede his opinion was sound, a point on which the officials were not to agree. It was, he said, like the wise saying:

'A mosquito trying to carry a mountain'.
I have accomplished nothing so far. However
I do not blame anyone, for it is simply on
account of my own loss of virtue.¹²⁵

Such was his state of mind in his last days in Hagi. A discussion of the manuscript Ryūkon Rōku ("Record of an Everlasting Spirit") written in Demmachi prison shortly before his death exploring these issues of worth and responsibility, belongs properly to Chapter Five.

Records show that the rainy season (nyūbai) in Western Honshu

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122. Nagai Uta, scion of an ancient high ranking Chōshū samurai family; han bureaucracy director and leader of a faction. Shōin ranked him as one of the most capable men in the han. Craig, op.cit., p. 169, fn 2.
123. Tokutomi Iichirō, trans. H.E. Coleman, "Yoshida Shōin 1830-1859", TASJ XLV, 1917, Part I, p. 174.
124. Ibid. Legge translation, cited p. 175.
125. Tokutomi, op.cit., p. 175.

in 1859 set in early,¹²⁶ so that when Shōin left Hagi-jō for Edo on 25th May, the countryside was blanketed in cloud and rain. He had been allowed to spend his last night in Matsumoto with his parents. The next morning some of his students and friends accompanied him up the long incline to the mountain pass above Hagi where he is said to have paused to say farewell under an ancient pine tree,¹²⁷ and in the manner befitting a sage, left a poem which has been preserved.¹²⁸

In Edo Shōin was taken first to the Mōri Sakurada yashiki where he remained until the first judicial examination at which he was scheduled to appear on 7th August. Edo was alive with barely suppressed opposition to the Bakufu. Denmachō prison was full of political prisoners of whom fourteen or fifteen were the victims of Manabe's recent purge and had accompanied him from Kyoto in April. Most were still awaiting trial. Rumours of tortures and forced confessions circulated and the presence of Westerners in increasing numbers in the vicinity of Edo Yokohama added to the tension. The fact that a substantial number of Chōshū samurai had arrived in the capital four weeks previously in the Mōri entourage, would have done nothing to reduce speculation nor allay fears.

The legal procedures under which the examinations were carried out complied with Tokugawa precedent but it must be borne in mind that the legal system prevailing in the Tokugawa period was dominated by

126. HSR, Ansei 6.

127. This lends itself to much emotional drama in the Hagi records and Museum displays. It is reported that his mother washed his back during a ceremonial bath.

128. The *romaji* version of this poem appears above Ch. Two, ii, f.23. A free translation reads:

This is the journey
From which probably, for me,
There shall be no return.
Wholly drench (in rain)
Is the pine tree of tears (*namidamatsu*)

The Hagi City Council has placed a marker on the spot.

the house laws of the great families and the stipulations laid down in the original *Kuge* and *Buke Shohatto* Court (samurai codes) at the beginning of the period. Law was based on broad principles resting on a philosophical premise of the natural order rather than on behavioural considerations. Its administration was a nebulous process of rule-by-status rather than rule-by-law as we understand it, and its absolute hierarchical structure imposed a discretionary interpretation more suitable to a Hanshu's discretionary dispensation of justice in his provincial castle than that required on a national scale in 1859. There had already been altercations over the supervision of the current interrogations. High status officials customarily performed judicial functions in special cases, and where necessary they were aided by a supreme judicial body.¹²⁹ Matsudaira Izumi-no-kami had been entrusted with the general supervision of the trial which required a full *hyōjōsho* (bench) composed of three Edo Bugyō,¹³⁰ the Ōmetsuke, and his assistant Metsuke. Two officials named in the first instance showed a "disposition to limit the scope of the enquiry and evinced a spirit of independence"¹³¹ and were immediately dismissed from office. They were replaced by Ii's nominees except for one of Lord Nariaki's agents who is reported to have secured a place and was able to keep the Mito party informed of all aspects of proceedings.¹³²

Under Tokugawa law no one could be punished unless he made full confession so strong measures were used to extract such confessions

129. Hane Mikiso, *Japan: A Historical Survey*, New York, 1972, pp. 162-165 discusses these issues as 'The Administration of Justice'.

130. City Commissioners by special shogunal appointment; the Superintendent-General of Law and Order and his first assistants. Ishii, Ryōsuke, *A History of Political Institutions in Japan* (trans.), Tokyo, 1980, p. 179.

131. Murdoch, *op.cit.* III, pp. 692-93

132. *Ibid.*, p. 693. This official is not named and he appears not to have been in a position to contribute to the ultimate decision. But he is reported to have assassinated one judge Ikeda after the trial for his severity of judgment.

especially with regard to infringement of government regulations or treasonable conspiracy. In fact the accusations against Shōin were very nebulous, including an effort to implicate him in the more notorious activities of Umeda Umpin at Kyoto with which he could not possibly have been associated. In the first interrogation he was asked, Did you not have a share in the secret plan of one Umeda Genjirō (Umpin)? and, Did you not intentionally drop some letters in the Imperial Palace at Kyoto? To which last at least Shōin could answer:

Positively no! I am a samurai. I declare
that I do not do anything in the dark. ¹³³

The accusations against him were nebulous. However, Shōin, following the procedure which he believed was required of a virtuous man, felt bound to present a justification of his own.

...if we unfortunately are not successful in our
project (Manabe's assassination) and we are arrested,
we shall bravely declare our views without fear of
keeping anything back. ¹³⁴

He did in fact bravely declare his views at his trial. He spoke fluently of the perils facing the nation, of the nature of duty and obligation as he, a samurai, saw it, and denied absolutely any dealings with secret documents signed with fictitious names and circulating at Court. "I do not know anything about the secret document you refer to", he stated, but added he was involved in the sonnō-jōi movement and he had attempted to influence the Imperial Court by communicating with Kuge Ōhara. Moreover he was sure in his own mind of the magnificence of his plan to assassinate Rōjū Manabe, and that its betrayal by some of the conspirators must have been the cause of his downfall. He therefore described in romantic and grandiose terms the details of

133. Tokutomi, op.cit., p. 171.

134. Shōin to his father (retrospect April 1859) in YSZ VI: 407 translated and quoted in Lanman, Chas., Leading Men of Japan, Boston, 1883, p. 152, ibid., p. 155.

the assassination plot, to the astonishment of the commissioners who were hearing of it for the first time.¹³⁵ His voluntary confessions are reported to have stirred up quite a hornet's nest¹³⁶ and after the first hearing on 7th August, the commissioners declared him to be overconfident. He should prepare himself for punishment and be detained at Denmachō prison for the duration of the enquiry. From Noyama prison in April 1859, he had viewed his future in very negative terms:

My life is useless now,
but I have no place in which to die.
I am in my extremity.¹³⁷
Therefore I shall take this Way (the Way of Death).

Now that he had both the place and the Way of Death clearly before him he is confident and prepared as a samurai.

On 28th August, before the next hearing of Shōin's case, executions of some loyalist fellow prisoners had taken place. Shōin was therefore under no illusion as to what his ultimate fate could be; nevertheless in prison he busied himself writing letters and memorials and communicating with other prisoners to the extent it was permitted. There were to be two further judicial hearings on 30th September and 31st October before a judgment of "guilt" was agreed upon. He was returned to prison and while awaiting sentence wrote the Ryūkon Roku in a style reminiscent of Yamaga Sokō's Haisho Zampitsu ("An Autobiography in Exile"). He expected no mercy and he received none. The commissioners may have failed to link his name with Umeda Umpin and the conspiracies at Court, but they had obtained the necessary free and full confession without torture¹³⁸ and so reached a consensus.

135. Ryūkon Roku ("Record of an Everlasting Spirit"), op.cit., van Straelen, pp. 118-129, passim, discusses his trial.

136. Lanman, op.cit., p. 172.

137. Ibid., p. 156.

138. It is accepted, though not entirely proven, that Umeda Umpin died as a result of terrible torture applied to extract from him names of loyalist supporters.

The case against Shōin in summary was as follows, although during the interrogations he answered to no such charges.

The case against Yoshida Torajirō:

1. He attempted to go to America.
2. While in domiciliary confinement he advised the government on matters of coastal defence.
3. He opposed hereditary accession to office and favoured the selection of able men by popular vote.
4. He planned to give his opinion concerning foreigners to Manabe, Shimōsa-no-kami (for the Bakufu).
5. All these acts were carried out during domiciliary confinement and showed therefore great disrespect for high officials. ¹³⁹

The commission sentenced Shōin on 20th November to punishment by exile but when it was presented to Tairō Ii for signature he erased the word 'exile' and inserted 'death'. The next morning Shōin was taken from Denmachō prison to the infamous execution ground at Kozukabara¹⁴⁰ in the north-eastern sector of Edo¹⁴¹ where he was decapitated and his remains temporarily buried.¹⁴² The proud samurai

139. The itemized account is recorded in a number of Western-language sources. Coleman, *op.cit.*, Tokutomi: *Yoshida Shōin*, p. 174. Sansom, G.B., *The Western World and Japan*, New York, 1973, rev.edn, p. 274.

140. There is some controversy on this point. Some authorities assert that Shōin was decapitated in Denmachō prison grounds and his remains taken across the city to Ekōin at Kozukabara where they were temporarily disposed of. Local history texts suggest this is not so, and I prefer the first alternative on the basis of observations.

141. In terms of geomancy which played a part in the urban design of Edo, the north-east of the city was considered an unfavourable location. Tozama mansions were placed along the roads leading to the north-east Gate of Edo to protect the castle from unfavourable elements and this gate was used for the entry and exist of undesirable persons.

142. As with other aspects of Shōin's death, details of his burial are confused. Van Straelen, *op.cit.*, p.50, states these four men buried Shōin in the grounds of the *Shimoyashiki* (presumably of the Mōri) of the Ekōin cemetery in Kozukabara. Others, including

finally met the death he gladly accepted for the Emperor's sake in the common *Kubikiritokoro*¹⁴³ where more than twenty thousand criminals are said to have been executed in the second half of the Tokugawa period (Plate 50). Local histories¹⁴⁴ report that in due course four Chōshū samurai, being informed of the location of the body, hurried to the Senju Ekoin¹⁴⁵ and received the relics which they then placed alongside the ashes (*haka*) of Hashimoto Sanai of Echizen who had been executed a few weeks before Shōin. They were Odera Shinnojō, Iida Seihaku, Katsura Kogoro (Kido) and Ito Toshisuke (also Shunsuke, probably the alternate names of Hakubun) young sonnō-jōi loyalists of impeccable samurai background, whose grief and anger at what was being called Shōin's "judicial murder" were to propel them forward into a new Japan hoping to vindicate his death in their own lives.

There is one final point to make. In Japan there are only two Shōin Jinja marking the place of his *Shizuka na kami nari*,¹⁴⁶ though

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142. (contd) Lanman, elaborate on the various garments - *juban shitagui*, *obi* each man supplied for grave clothes. On the other hand more modern and business-like records kept at Betsū-in, infer a cremation took place since Hashimoto's *haka* or urn is mentioned. Logic suggests with twenty thousand corpses dealt with over a number of years only cremation would serve.
143. Lit.: 'a place for cutting throats'.
144. *Tokyo to Rekishi Kyōiku Kenkyukai*, *Tokyo-to Rekishi Sampō*, Yamagawa Shuppansha, Tokyo, 1972, pp. 95ff. The Ekōin near the Sumidagawa decided to establish a Betsū-in (separate temple) for the sake of those executed at Kozukabara and victims of city disasters. Today the small temple stands on a triangle of land between two main J.N.R. lines and Hibiya-sen of the Underground system, and near the Ōshū Kaidō.
145. It is interesting to note that a number of modern Japanese families of high business reputation, e.g. Honda and the New Otani Hotel group, are proud to have their memorials in this small cemetery.
146. Lit.: "to become or attain a quiet spirit", usually in the sense of attaining sainthood sometime after death.

there are a number of places sacred to his memory.¹⁴⁷ One is the busy Shōin Jinja at Hagi to which reference has already been made. The other is at Setagaya where his ashes rest today. Once part of the Mōri *shimoyashiki* (outer or lower mansion), it was established with government assistance in Meiji 14 (1884) as a shrine to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Shōin's execution. The fifty-seven beautiful lanterns which line the path to the main hall of worship were donated in his memory by some of his former students in Meiji 41 (1908), the year in which his remains were ceremonially transferred to the Jinja.¹⁴⁸

Ironically, less than five hundred metres down the road from the Shōin Jinja gateway (Plate 48) is the Gotokuji, the temple where the ashes of Tairō Ii Naosuke, Hikone-no-kami, are interred (Plate 49).

147. For example, the stele at Senjū Ekōin (Plate 51); the life size bronze statue at Kakizaki, Shimoda (Plate 38); and the bronze of Shōin and Kusaka at Matsumoto, Hagi (frontispiece).

148. Shrine Records, Shōin Jinja, Setagaya-ku, Wakabayashi, Tokyo.

149. The use of Matsudaira, an alternative ceremonial name used by the House of Tokugawa, was permitted to certain lords either related by blood ties, or with a long history and honourable association. The House of Mōri was one of the latter.

TABLE 3. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF IMPORTANT
WRITINGS BY YOSHIDA SHŌIN*

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- 1846: Gai'i Shōki 外事小記
(Short Notes on Foreign Barbarians)
- 1847: Heinai Furon 平内府論
(Discourse on the Peace of the Country)
- 1848: Ikensho 意見書
(Opinion Paper - on the re-establishment of the Meirinkan)
- 1849: Suiriki Senryaku 水陸戦略
(Strategy for War on Land and Sea)
- Taisaku Ichidō 對策一道
(Counter Measures)
- Kaiho Kiryaku 廻浦紀略
(Résumé of the Travels Round the Bays)
- Keikogoto Hikae 稽古事控
(Notes Concerning the Exercises)
- Meirinkan Hikae 明倫館控
(Notes Regarding the Meirinkan)
- 1850: Saiyū Nikki 西遊日記
(Diary of the Journey to the West)
- Mi'nin Funkō 未忍焚稿
(Unendurable Burning - collection of miscellaneous poems)
- Jōran Hikae 上覽控
(Notes on Imperial Inspection)
- Kōjiki 公事記
(Chronicle of Public Affairs)
- 1851: (No major writings preserved. Shōin lecturing in Edo and travelling in Kantō region.)
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* All major works published in Yoshida Shōin Zenshū (YSZ) (See Bibliography). This list based on preface to vol. 1. The most comprehensive listing in English is van Straelen, H., Yoshida Shoin: Forerunner of the Meiji Restoration. Note that English translations of the titles of Shōin's writings given in this table are based on those given by van Straelen but have been revised and amended for greater accuracy.

- 1852: Tōyū Nikki 東遊日記
(Diary of the Journey to the East)
- Bukyō Zensho Kōshō 武教全書講章
(Explanation of the Bukyō zensho)
- Kanotoi Nikki 辛亥日記
*(1851 Diary)
- Tōhokuyū Nikki 東北遊日記
(Diary of the Journey through Tōhoku -
appendix called Tōseikō)
- Mōseiroku 猛省錄
(Examination of Conscience)
- Gyōyo Manraku 業餘漫錄
(Jottings in my Spare Time)
- Suiyo Jiroku 睡餘事錄
(Notes Written at Leisure)
- Zatsuroku 雜錄
(Miscellaneous Records)
- Kyūsho 舊鈔
(Selection of Old Notes)
- Heikyo Dokusho 屏居讀書
(Reading during my Confinement)
- Kanotoi Hikki 辛亥筆記
*(1851 Notes)
- 1853: Masa ni shigen oyoban to su 將及私言
(I dare to give my Personal Opinion)
- Kyūmu Jōgi 急務條議
(Articles on how to attend to Immediate Duties)
- Kyūmu Saku 急務策
(Measures to counter Immediate Duties)
- Setsui Shigi 接夷私議
(Personal Opinion with Regard to Foreign Relations)
- Hōketsu wo Haishi Tatematsuru 鳳闕を拜し奉る
(Respectfully I Worship the Emperor)
- Nagasaki Kikō 長崎紀行
(Nagasaki Travel Account)

* Since Kanotoi means the year 1851, Shōin must have been collating and editing notes and personal diaries written in 1851.

- 1854: Nijū Ikkai Mōshi Setsu 二十一回 猛子説
(The Opinion of the Twenty-One Times Audacious Samurai)
- Yūshū Roku 幽囚録
(Record of Imprisonment (completed 1855))
- 1855: Shiki Shichisoku 士規七則
(Rules for Samurai - The Seven Principles)
- Noyamagoku Bunkō 野山獄文稿
(Noyama Prison Manuscript)
- Noyama Zattcho 野山雜著
(Noyama Miscellaneous Writings)
- Gokuchū Haikai 獄中俳諧
(Haikai Written during Imprisonment)
- Kaiko Roku 回顧録
(Record of the Past)
- Shomotsu Mokuroku 書物目録
(Catalogue of Books)
- Shōgetsu Gasō 賞月雅草
(A Collection of waka poetry, praising moon and flowers)
- Enkon Isō 冤魂慰草
(Consolations of an Unjustly Accused Soul)
- 1856: Shichishōsetsu 七生説
(Views on Seven Rebirths - tribute to Kusunoki Masashige)
- Shōka Sonjukuki 松下村塾記
(Record of the Shōka Sonjuku)
- Kōmō Yowa 講孟餘話
(Additional Notes in Explanation of Mencius)
- Bukyō Zensho Kōroku 武教全書講録
(Record of Bukyō Zensho Explanations)
- Hinoetatsu Yūshitsu Bunkō 丙辰幽室文稿
(1856 Prison Cell Manuscript)
- Hinoetatsu Nikki 丙辰日記
(1856 Diary)
- 1857: Yūshitsu Bunkō 幽室文稿
(Prison Cell Manuscript)
- Yoshida Goryaku 吉田語略
(Yoshida Short Tales)

1857 (contd):

Nijū Ikkai Sōsho 二十一回叢書
(Nijū Ikkai Library)

Kichinichi Roku 吉日錄
(Record of a Lucky Day)

Noyamagoku Dokushoki 野山獄讀書記
(List of the Books Read in Noyama Prison)

Tōzoku Shimatsu 討賊始末
(Treatise on How to Conquer Enemies)

Gaiban Tsūryaku 外蕃通略
(Outline History of Foreign Countries)

1858:

Kyōfu no Gen 狂夫ノ言
(Words of a Fool)

Sakumon 策問
(Enquiry)

Taisaku Ichidō 對策一道
(One Method of Counter-Strategy)

Guron 愚論
(Stupid Essay)

Zoku Guron 續愚論
(Sequel to Stupid Essay)

Ronsaku Bōgi 論策謀議
(Treatise on Defence Measures)

Taigi wo Gisu 大義ヲ議ス
(Discussion on the Great Justice)

Jigi Ryakuron 時義略論
(Outlines on Contemporary Justice)

Hyōgo Kaibō no Jiwo Gisu 兵庫海防ノ辭ヲ議ス
(Discussion on Hyōgo Coastal Defence)

Jiseiron 時勢論
(Treatise on the Current Situation)

Tsuchinotohitsuji Gosanpugi 己未御參府議
*(Suggestion Concerning the Daimyō's Report to the Bakufu in 1859)

Yūshitsu Bunkō 幽室文稿
(Prison Cell Manuscript)

Yūsō Zuihitsu 幽窗隨筆
(Jottings from my Prison Window)

* This memorandum was written in 1858 anticipating problems concerning the Hanshu's official visit to Edo in 1859.

1858 (contd):

Dokukō Kanroku 讀網鑑錄
(Collection of Readings)

Kyūmu Shijō 急務四條
(Four Points of Imperative Necessity)

Seiyō Hoheiron 西洋步兵論
(Discourse on Western Infantry)

Shōin Shikō 松陰詩稿
(Manuscript of Shōin's Poems)

Shōka Sonjuku Shokuji Jimmei Hikae 松下村塾食事人名控
(List of the Persons who Eat at Shōka Sonjuku)

1859:

Ōhara San'i ni Sashidasu Sho 大原三位に差し出す書
(Document for Presentation to Lord Ōhara)

Bokushi Mōshitate no Omomuki Rompaku Jōken 墨使申立の趣
(Debate on the Purport of the Treatment of the American envoys) 論駁條件

Yōgasaku Shui 要駕策主竜
(Explanation of the Yōgasaku Affair)

Seiki no Uta 正氣の歌
(The Song of the Spirit of Rectitude)

Tōbasaku Hihyō 東坡策批評
(Criticism of the Eastern Dam Scheme)

Tsuchinotohitsuji Bunkō 己未文稿
(1859 Manuscript)

Rishi Funsho Shō 李氏焚書抄
(Selections from Li's Fonsho)

Rishi Zoku Zōsho Shō 李氏續藏書抄
(Selection from Rishi)

Kōkoku Shi 鴻鵠志
(Aspirations of a Hero)

Zagoku Nichiroku 坐獄日録
(Daily Record in Prison)

Shōgan Roku 照顔録
(Clarifying Record)

Sonshi Hyōchū 孫子評註
(Commentary on Hsun-Tzu)

Tōkō Zen Nikki 東行前日記
(Diary up to the time of the Eastern Journey)

1859 (contd):

Bakugoshū 縛吾集
(Collection of a Prisoner in Bonds)

Ruishōshū 淚松集
(Collection of the Pinetree of Tears)

Ryūkon Roku 留魂錄
(Record of an Everlasting Spirit)

NOTE:

In addition to the above, Shōin was a prolific letter writer. Some 863 letters are preserved, dating from the 10th month of 1849 until his death. Some are published in YSZ. Others are collected in:

Kawakami Kizō (ed.), Yoshida Shōin: Ōfuku Shokan
(The Correspondence of Mokurin and Shōin), Kinshōsha,
Tokyo, 1972; Kawakami Tetsutarō (ed.), Yoshida Shōin
no Tegami (The Letters of Yoshida Shōin), Ushio
shuppan, Tokyo, 1973.

Chapter Three

Hagi-

Physical Context for
Philosophical Concept



Hagi (bush clover)

*Shiratsuyu wo
Kobosanu hagi no
Uneri kana*

Matsuo Bashō¹

The primary context for the life of this man Shōin was the environs of the *jōkamachi* 城下町 or castletown of Hagi² in the province of Nagato 長門の萩 on the Sea of Japan in western Honshu. One hundred and fifty years ago during Shōin's lifetime it was a vigorous city, the administrative capital of the Mōri domains and a busy port on the delta of the Abu River whose facilities connected the Kyushu and Inland Sea shipping lanes with the routes to Aomori and further north.

A curious lacuna in both Japanese and Western scholarship has been created by the lack of consideration of the role of the environment of Hagi upon Shōin's thought. After all, Shōin spent all of his formative years and much of his adult life in the immediate area of Hagi. It provided the tangible framework within which Shōin formulated and developed his ideas, not only in the specific sense of formal schooling, but also in the more general and pervasive sense of environmental conditioning. Hagi was more than an accidental setting, of mere curiosity value today as an outgrown relic of a bygone age. It made a subtle but vital contribution in the formation of

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1. This haiku by Japan's most famous and prolific poet Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694) may be translated:

Clear drops of dew
Seem to fall from *hagi* leaves
So gently waving

The *hagi*, or bush clover, after which the city of Hagi is named, bears delicate sprays of white, cream or fuschia coloured flowers in the autumn season.

2. The earliest use of the name Hagi to designate this site occurs in Zenpukuji Monsho, as noted in Yamori Kazuhiko, Nihon no Kochizu 5: Jōkamachi Hagi, Tsuwano, Tottori, Bitchū Matsuyama, Iwakuni, Tokyo, 1976, p. 26.

Shōin's complex personality and philosophy. Although there are numerous pocket books and guide books published in both Japanese and in English which delight in the undeniably picturesque qualities of the old castletown -- "Some air of antiquity still hovers about the city of Hagi in the twentieth century" -- there has been no consistent or coherent attempt to relate the physical environment, and all that it contained, to the shape of Shōin's thought and activity both in Hagi itself and in the broader context of Bakumatsu Japan. As Kūkai, the esoteric Buddhist philosopher, affirmed over a millenium before the time of Shōin:

The environment changes in accordance with the functioning of the mind...The mind in turn is influenced by the environment: when the surroundings are quiet, the mind becomes calm. Thus, mind and environment relate to each other in an invisible manner, very much like the Tao and the Virtuous Efficiency which reside in the obscure.³

The notion that the mind does not exist in isolation from its surroundings may be universal, but in the case of Shōin it seems to have been largely ignored, despite the advice given as long ago as 1949 by George Sansom that "to reach a just estimate of his (Shōin's) character would require as well as sympathetic insight a careful history of his environment and many details of contemporary history".⁴ Therefore particular care has been taken in analysing Shōin's life to study the visible evidence which remains as a clue to the "invisible manner" of the relation between place and person.

Early maps of Hagi (Plates 1 and 2) still accurately depict the older parts of the city as it appears today. The systematic

3. Written in 814. Quoted in: Allan G. Grapard, "Patriarchs of Heian Buddhism. Kūkai and Saichō", in Murakami Hyoe and Thomas J. Harper (ed.), Great Historical Figures of Japan, Tokyo, 1978, p. 39.
4. George Sansom, The Western World and Japan, New York, 1973 (originally published 1949), p. 273.

arrangement of samurai *yashiki* or mansions in the area around the castle called *Hori-uchi* ("inside the castle moat") has not been disrupted by any industrial development. On the other hand major changes immediately associated with the Meiji Restoration caused the transfer of a considerable number of Chōshū han officials of the samurai administrative category to Edo and Kyoto diminishing the population⁵ and leaving many parts of the jōkamachi vacant. The destruction of some of the mansions and the mandatory planting of *mikan* or summer orange orchards in the resulting spaces as a demonstration of disinterest in the revival of the castletown as a bastion of feudalism, is one of the notable features of the older sections of the city today (Plate 20). It is therefore a simple matter to experience many aspects of Shōin's Hagi whose physical environment and history contributed to the formation of his character and outlook.

Shōin explains his physical environment in the Shōka Sonjukuki, a short essay which he wrote in 1856. The first part describes Hagi and the neighbouring community of Matsumoto:

The province of Nagato is situated at the western corner of the main island of Japan. Hagi Castle is blanketed in the shadow of Tsurayama⁶ which projects out into the Korean Straits. With its back to these straits and facing mountains at its front, this humble, damp and dark place from early times was the castle site for the Yoshimi family.⁷ Two hundred years later⁸ the site became the center for the government of this *han*. A town of great presence has developed on this site, (supported by) the harvests of land and sea brought from every direction. On the eastern outskirts is my Matsumoto.⁹ To the south of Matsumoto

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5. The population in 1878 was 25,600, approximately half its size at the height of the Tokugawa period (Yazaki Takeo, Social Change and the City in Japan, Tokyo, 1968, p. 325).
 6. Tsurayama is the original name for Shizuki-yama.
 7. Predecessors of the Mōri.
 8. 1604.
 9. Here written 松下

flows the Ō River.¹⁰ The source of this river is many miles away in the mountain valleys, but no-one really knows where. The descendants of the Taira Clan live there in hiding. To the northeast of the river there are two mountains. The larger is called Mt. Tōjin, and is a place where (descendants of) Korean captives¹¹ make pottery. The smaller mountain, called Mt. Nagasoe, has the ruins of the fortifications of the Matsukura and Iga families...Between the mountains and the river there are a thousand households - samurai and farmers, artisans and merchants...¹²

This passage contains important indications of the way in which Shōin's attitudes have been conditioned and moulded by his physical surroundings. It reveals the precedence which Matsumoto took over Hagi in Shōin's own thinking. Indeed, Shōin returns to Matsumoto in the later part of the Shōka Sonjukuki and makes the following statement which no historian Japanese or Western has ever cared to discuss:

Today Hagi has become a major town, but it has not seen the appearance of truly (eminent) persons for a long time. This situation will not continue. Now Matsumoto is to the east of (Hagi) castle. The eastern direction is called *tatsu* 震.¹³ This is the place from which the myriad

10. Now known as the Abu River.

11. Shōin's understanding of history seems confused by local legend at this point. Tanaka Shunsuke points out that the "Korean captives" were soldiers who had served with Toyotomi Hideyoshi during his Korean Campaigns of the 1590s. Resettled in the Hagi mountains, they used pines from the well-forested slopes to fire a type of pottery which became known as *Hagi-yaki*. See further: Tanaka Shunsuke, Yoshida Shōin. Ishin no Sendatsu, Hagi, 1967, pp. 105-145, passim.

12. YSZ IV, 176-77. Note that van Straelen (Yoshida Shōin, Leiden, 1952, p. 17, fn. 2) lambasts earlier translators for inaccuracies in rendering this passage into English. Yet his own translation which has much currency in Western literature is marred by errors, serious unindicated omissions and unwarranted reinterpretation of key passages. For instance, van Straelen translates "My Matsumoto" *waga Matsumoto* 吾松本 as "the village where I was born" and adds an unwarranted amendment of the simple explanation of population structure - samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants to read "the population lives partly from agriculture partly from the house-industry" which may be true but is not textually accurate.

13. Also written 辰, the sign of the dragon in the Sino-Japanese zodiacal system.

things come forth.¹⁴ To my thinking the great manifestations in the future of Hagi must certainly begin from the community of Matsumoto.¹⁵

Geomancy, or belief in a close association between the physical world and the forces of the universe, was deeply implanted in the psychology of place in both China and Japan. It influenced the planning of buildings and cities, and the perception of good and evil. It is reflected even in the Buddhist writings of Kūkai, quoted above. Although there is no overt discussion of geomancy in Shōin's writings, there is no question that the notions were so deeply implanted in the less conscious aspects of attitude to place in all Japanese of his time that it automatically became a vehicle for his thinking. He saw in the physical superiority of the location of Matsumoto in relating to Hagi a manifestation of what he considers to be a more general truth, the future intellectual leadership for Hagi coming from Matsumoto.

It is therefore appropriate to look at Matsumoto first in this exploration of historical Hagi and its environs. Moreover it is consistent with our search for the real Shōin amongst the multiplicity of ideologically dictated interpretations which represent him as a radical activist with ties deep in the soil of a remote province to examine carefully the environment of his early youth. Too little attention has been given to Shōin's own plain statement concerning his birth place that "Between the mountains and the river there are a thousand households - samurai and farmers, artisans and merchants". He uses the standard shorthand for the Tokugawa socio-political system, *shi-no-kō-shō* 士農工商. A thousand households of such

14. Reference to the I-ching, "The Book of Changes".

15. YSZ IV, 177-78.

the Hagi City Local History Museum (Plate 1), although the Ka'ei map (1851-2) (Plate 2) is more interesting since it depicts Shōin's city. An examination of these maps makes very obvious the attempted application to the city of a grid plan which is compromised by existing topography. They reveal an urban settlement on a roughly triangular parcel of land, the apex meeting the skirts of Shizuki-yama³¹ where the triangle juts westward into the Sea of Japan (Plate 4). It is bounded on the northeast side by the Matsumoto River and on the south by the Hashimoto River,³² the whole limited by a range of mountains to the north and east. Small villages and agricultural land spread out to the south and gradually mount the hill slopes to the east where Matsumoto lies across the river. With its intersecting rivers, narrow hinterland and rapidly rising mountain ridges Hagi's site presented an insoluble problem to early urban planners anxious to lay out an orderly city.

The infrastructure of Hagi followed the principles of zoning general to castletowns of the Tokugawa period. There was a strictly maintained hierarchical order in the spatial organization of the city. The castle was the focus of the urban infrastructure not only as the key to the defence system, but also as the residence of the lord, the pinnacle of the socio-political hierarchy. Position within the social order was translated directly into physical relationship to the castle, as in all Tokugawa castletowns, with lower-ranking samurai and *chōnin* living progressively further away from the castle centre as their status diminished. In this way the jōkamachi became a physical map of the prevailing political and social order and an

31. 140m. in height.

32. The original bridge across the Hashimoto River built in 1616 was of 87 metres long. It is still a famous river crossing. See Map: Hagi Zushi, op.cit., p. 52.

composition means that Matsumoto was far from a bucolic outpost in the mountains near Hagi, but was a microcosm of the Tokugawa order with its own demographic cohesion and social hierarchy. Shōin in fact refers to Matsumoto throughout the Shōka Sonjukuki using the character 郷 *yū*, which may be translated as "rural community" or "town" rather than village in the sense of a scattering of cottages. Although Matsumoto is generally referred to as a "village" it is important to bear in mind that it was a considerable and socially diverse community in Shōin's day.

Today Matsumoto-*shi* as a city has grown still further, but the distinction between it and the contiguous urban centre of Hagi has disappeared. In Shōin's lifetime however it was separated from the main jōkamachi district, access being by bridge across the Matsumoto River or in three other designated places where safe passage across the marshy reaches of the river was guaranteed.¹⁶ The low-lying ground at the base of the foothills was the site of a cluster of houses, one of which belonged to Shōin's Uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin and was the location of the Shōka Sonjuku, the family's special school.¹⁷ (Plate 27) From here the road curves steeply upwards and left along a ridge towards the upper fields and houses and then right again on its way to the mountains. The home of Shōin's father, Sugi Yūrinoshige, and mother and the place of his birth, lies on the flat top of a small hill (Plate 24) close to the famous contemporary bronze statue of Shōin and his friend Kusaka Genzui (Frontispiece), facing east towards Shizuki-yama and the sea (Plate 5). In Tokugawa times Matsumoto was as busy as well as populous centre. There were periodic markets,

16. Hagi Seinenkaigisho Sōritsu Nijūshūnen Kinenjigyō (ed.), Hagi Zushi, Hagi, 1979, p. 73.

17. This is now the site of the Hagi Yoshida Shōin Jinja and Historical Museum.

possibly on a monthly basis, where in addition to usual crafts, and agricultural goods, *Matsumoto-yaki*, a special kind of pottery, was sold.¹⁸ Matsumoto was also the focal point of communication in and out of Hagi, with access roads to the valley flats and jōkamachi, and to the feudal highway passing through it. The main Kuchiya *Banchō*, or guard post for controlling all traffic, was positioned just beyond Matsumoto towards the mountains.

There is evidence to suppose that Shōin's life-long attachment to Matsumoto was no mere nostalgic whimsy. Apart from such obvious conduct as frequent return visits to the Sugi household after his long journeyings and his ready acceptance of domiciliary confinement in his uncle's care, he used his typical scholar's love of word-play to perpetuate the name Matsumoto meaning "source of the pine" and its association with the pine tree Japan's "King of trees".¹⁹ In the passage already quoted, and elsewhere, he calls Matsumoto, *Matsushita*, 松下, "beneath the pines", perpetuating this idea in the name of the school he was to make famous, *Shōka Sonjuku*, "Village School below or in the shadow of the pines".²⁰ Pine trees, especially the

18. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

19. More than one hundred different designs depicting pine trees appear on picture scrolls created since the Heian period (794-1185). There are single symbolic pine trees, and pines in multiple combinations with flowers and animals in family crests throughout the nation. The most well-known pine crest is that of the Sugi family of Sanuki province in Kagawa prefecture. The ancient court family, Nakamikado, and its branch families, used pine crests of many unique designs.

The pine tree also with ground malachite needles set on gold leaf backgrounds is the dominant subject for the decoration of the grand ceremonial chambers of the castles and palaces of the warrior class in the Momoyama and early Tokugawa periods such as Nijō-jō Hinomaru Palace Ōhiroma. See further Editorial Note: "The Heart of the Pines", *The East*, Vol. XII, No. I, 1976.

20. Earl, *op.cit.*, p. 130, fn 42 misses the point completely by explaining the term *shita* for *moto* in the name of the school as an attempt to make it "more elegant", apparently overlooking the consistent use of "*Matsushita/Shōka*" by Shōin to refer to the village, not the school, throughout the *Shōka Sonjukuki*.

the smaller, sturdier variety with a shorter needle, grow profusely even today around Hagi and along the cold Sea of Japan coast. It is interesting to note that one of the frequent express trains stopping at Higashi Hagi is called Matsukaze, "Pine Wind". Several small but sturdy specimens of this tree grace Shōin's *haka* in the Mōri burial plot at the Shōin Jinja in Setagaya, Tokyo (Plate 51). Finally, Shōin may have used a variety of personal names during the course of his life but the one he most favoured and by which he is most generally known today, Shōin, transmuted the notion of his *furusato* Matsumoto which he interprets as "beneath the pines" to *shōin* 松陰 "The shadow of the pines".

This then was the Matsumoto of Shōin's experience, a distinct entity but close within the political ambit of the House of Mōri, its castletown Hagi and the intellectual compass of the Meirinkan, each of which will be examined in turn to complete the picture of the environment of which Shōin was part.

Today one may proceed to Hagi from Tokyo by *Shinkansen* or "Bullet" Express to Ōgori connecting with the local bus across the mountains to Hagi, a journey in excess of a thousand kilometers. Hagi may be far-removed from the major metropolitan centres of Japan, but in the Tokugawa period it was not the remote backwater which it may appear to be today. In the Tokugawa period, standing as it did at the confluence of trade routes and sealanes encircling Honshu from Sakai (Osaka) to Aomori and on to Ezo (Hokkaido) Hagi was a city of great importance. Chōshū han ranked ninth among the great han with an officially registered productive capacity (*omote daka*) of 369,000 koku²¹ at the pinnacle of its power circa 1667. This income supported

21. The actual recorded product (*jitsudaka*) as compared with *omotedaka* is variously estimated at around twice that amount. A.M. Craig citing *Jimbun gakuho* 3:44-45 (1953) gives 713,600 koku as the average yield (*Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration*, Cambridge, Mass. (contd))

the Mōri House and its samurai, in the case of the senior line established at Hagi a class of close to 50,000 persons.²² With an estimated 5,300 *chōnin* or townspeople this constituted the Hagi city population through much of the Tokugawa period, being close to the ten percent of the total han population of the reliably estimated 500,000 rurally-based persons.²³

To turn to the physical form of Hagi is to return to Kūkai's statement that "the environment changes in accordance with the functioning of the mind". The jōkamachi of Hagi was the product of the mind and the ambitions of the House of Mōri. From the viewpoint of the Tokugawa Bakufu based in Edo, the Mōri were daimyo of subordinate status as *tōzama*, "outer lords", forced into submission at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. From the geographical perspective of Chōshū, some thousand kilometres removed from Edo, the view was very different. Circumstances had clearly changed, with wealth and status severely circumscribed. Yet the Mōri and those who owed them allegiance remained mindful of their power and accomplishments prior to 1600. The descendants of a distinguished family of ancient origin,²⁴ the Mōri had

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21. (contd) 3rd printing, 1978, pp. 10 & 11) or 895,000 koku if the income of the four branch han is included.
 22. Craig, *ibid.*, p. 99, describes the Chōshū han social structure within the dynamics of han government as follows:
 Samurai - daimyo Mōri, 5675 vassal and 5000 rear vassal families, an estimated total of 50,000 persons, with 8 house elders (Karō), Masuda being the most important.
 Chōnin - 5,300 townsmen including merchants, artisans and craftsmen.
 23. Rural associated population. Stated elsewhere as close to 500,000. There was also a significant minority of shrine and Buddhist priests which Craig does not account for and whose numbers fluctuated.
 24. There are Hōjō elements in the original clan which wielded immense power during the Kamakura period (1185-1333) in the area of south west Honshu later identified with the Mōri House domains. Popular legends trace the Mōri family line as far back to the Seiwa Genji. Historically the origins of the House of Mōri may certainly be attributed to Ōe Hiromoto (1148-1225) of Aki province, whose son Suemitsu adopted the name Mōri about 1221. The records of

(contd)

risen to a position of high favour with the Imperial Court, and the Ashikaga Bakufu (1333-1573)²⁵ but potential enemy by reason of this very pre-eminence after Nobunaga's death in 1582 to his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi. However strategic by-play on the part of the Mōri during Hideyoshi's Kyushu campaign assured their acceptance by him as a daimyo house of high standing with their great castle establishment at Hiroshima (1591) and their income estimated conservatively at 1,200,000 koku. Mōri Terumoto (1553-1625), now head of the House, accepted appointment to the Regency Council of Five, sharing with Tokugawa Ieyasu caretaker authority over the land in the name of the

24. (contd) the Mōri are amongst the most comprehensive of any daimyo. They are so voluminous that cataloguing by the Yamaguchi prefectural authorities, which has been proceeding for over twenty years, is still not complete. Information on the Mōri in English may be found in: Papinot, E., Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan, Rutland and Tokyo, 1974 (originally published Yokohama, 1910), pp. 407-8; Murdoch, James, A History of Japan, vol. 2, London, 1925, passim; Hall, John Whitney, Government and Local Power in Japan 500-1700, New Jersey, 1966, pp. 268-70, 279-80, 354ff.
25. The most illustrious of the early warrior lords of this name, Mōri Motonari (1497-1571), a ninth generation scion, waged some famous battles such as Itsukushima (1555) greatly enhancing both his reputation and his land holdings and during the uneasy days of *Sengoku jidai* (1467-1573) completed the occupation of the Ōuchi domains and conquered the city of Yamaguchi (1557). In 1560 Motonari earned the gratitude of the impoverished Imperial House by providing the finance necessary for the overdue Imperial coronation ceremonies of Emperor Ōgimachi for which he received the court title of *Daizentayu* and the right to engrave the imperial chrysanthemum and paulonia insignia on his household crest. Eight of Motonari's nine sons continued their father's successful campaigns so that by the end of the wars of unification Mōri counted all the domains of the south-west of Honshu as his own, having established dominance over the ancient designations of the Nara/Heian *ritsuryō* land divisions of San'indō and San'yōdō, including in the first domains such as Tamba, Tajima, Oni and Shimane, and in the second the domains of Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bitchū, Okayama, Hiroshima, Suō and Nagato (Plate 3). This gave the Mōri access to the Sea of Japan (Nihonkai), the Inland Sea (Setonaikai) and Kyushu via the Straits of Shimonoseki. It embraced a number of key ports and strategic centres of immense potential importance, notably Hiroshima, Hagi and Shimonoseki, and Yamaguchi, a central land communications point between all three water ways. Thus in 1566 Mori could add the further title of *Jūkoku no Taishū* to the family name. A final accolade was bestowed when the last Ashikaga Shogun Yoshiaki, deposed by Ōda Nobunaga in 1573, sought asylum from Mōri Terumoto, who had succeeded to the senior House rank in 1570.

(contd)

infant Hideyori after Hideyoshi's death in 1598. Ieyasu, the third of the great unifiers, was now poised for the final stage of national unification, but interdomanial politics caused Terumoto to rethink his strategies. Ill-advisedly he allied himself with the Ishida power block of Western Japan at the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) and was defeated. The cost of this defeat was major demotion in the size and value of his domains according to the stringent laws instituted by the Tokugawa House to control *tōzama daimyō*. All Mōri territories were confiscated except the two Sea of Japan provinces of Suō and Nagato, reducing han holdings to the provinces of Suō and Nagato which together form approximately the area of present-day Yamaguchi prefecture. The annual Mōri koku income, according to tables reproduced in Craig's study adapted from the cadastral survey of 1600, dropped from 1,200,000 to 298,000 koku,²⁶ although some authorities give 369,000 as the base koku assessment.²⁷ This was less than one quarter of the previous domanial spread but additionally carried the crushing burden of repaying taxes already levied in 1600 but not yet collected from lands which had been confiscated.

It was on this basis that the House of Mōri entered the Tokugawa period accepting the status of *tozama daimyo* and obtaining the right of bearing the title 'Matsudaira' which confirmed them in their new status as Tokugawa vassals. The further nomenclature *Nagato-no-kami* (松平長門守) was conferred in 1608 after the dynastic marriage between the Lord Mōri and the adopted daughter of the second Tokugawa Shogun Hidetada (1579-1632).

25. (contd) Now the Mōri were, in addition to overlords of all south western Honshu, friends of the Imperial Hosue and Ashikaga shogun alike.

26. Craig, A.M., op.cit., p. 11.

27. Papinot, op.cit., p. 408.

The region now known as Chōshū or Nagato developed from the Heian through Muromachi periods under two noble families of the Nishi-Iwami, the Masuda and Yoshimi and later under the joint leadership of the House of Yoshimi-Mōri. Hagi, until the castle reconstruction by the Mōri, was no more than a typical village in the cold coastal area sometimes known as *Ura Nihon*, as indicated in Shōin's picturesque description translated above. However, the area had a significant history of wet-rice agriculture dating back to the Nara period (710-794).²⁸

The development of the city of Hagi began after Mōri Terumoto's official enfeoffment to the Tokugawa in 1603 and proceeded on the recognizable pattern of all jōkamachi. At its inception as a castle-town Hagi was but one of a number of castle centres spread through the two Mōri provinces of Nagato and Suō. Subsidiary castle centres were distributed among members of the Mōri family at Iwakuni, Tokuyama and Chōfu, now part of the modern city of Shimonoseki. When in 1615 the Tokugawa Bakufu issued a "one castle per province" order, the *Ikkoku-ichi-jō-no-rei*,²⁹ as part of their push towards absolute national control, the impact on the Mōri domains was particularly severe.³⁰ At

28. The paddy fields and *hatake* for vegetable cropping were laid out according to the rectilinear grid plan of the *ritsuryō* Chinese methods of land organization favoured by the Nara imperial government. Vestiges of this land allotment are still identifiable within the modern city clearly marked in green on Tokugawa maps. They are called *hatata* by the local population.

29. Ōrui Noboru (ed.), *Nihon Jōkaku jiten*, Tokyo, 1970, p. 35f. The edict required the demolition of all castles in all han except for the actual residential castle of the incumbent daimyo. Further, the only major records of this edict are contained in Mori han documents. It is discussed in depth in *Dai Nihon Shi Shiryō*, No. 21: Vol 12, p. 329.

The "one-castle-one-province" order was followed by provisions in the 1615 Buke Sho-hatto which prohibited new castle construction and regulated repairs.

30. The Bakufu restrictions curtailed plans to extend the small-scale fortifications on top of Shizuki-yama. Operations to cut rocks for the castle walls were suspended abruptly. Today the painstakingly chiselled preparatory marker-lines on large granite boulders

that date only the *honjō* or principal castle at Hagi could be maintained: the fine edifices at Iwakuni, Tokuyama and Chōfu had to be destroyed. Hagi jōkamachi subsequently assumed enhanced importance as the sole castletown in all the Mōri domains.

The Mōri transformed the one time village of Hagi into a castle-town which was both a symbol and substance of their power and obligations as a tōzama. The town provided for the functions of administration and commerce as well as those of military installations. In addition it served as an agency of the centralized government for maintaining personnel control points under the sankin-kōtai system. The Mōri daimyo may have been "required" to fulfil certain functions for the Bakufu but in practice the Mōri reserved the right to interpret these requirements within an historically nurtured aloofness from the Tokugawa.

The construction of a castle at Shizuki-yama began in 1604 and was completed in 1608, and the jōkamachi developed apace at the base, incorporating the natural features of the landscape such as the Matsumoto and Hashimoto Rivers into the defence system of moats and linking them with the sea (Plate 1). Shizuki-yama appears in most maps in the left upper corner, wreathed in golden clouds to disguise its defence layout, while at its feet an intricate system of moats and waterways protect the inner palace buildings and residences of the upper-ranking vassals of the Mōri.

The city of Hagi is one of the best preserved castletowns of the Tokugawa period, the surviving buildings and organization being the end product of an historical process which also fashioned the lives of its inhabitants. The best evidence of the organizational form is provided by a map of the Mori jōkamachi dated to 1652 preserved in

30.(contd) are still visible at seven sites on the upper mountain (Plate 9).

affirmation of the truth of the equation between mind and environment. The physical form of the jōkamachi was planned as a fundamental manifestation of hierarchy in the political and social order of Tokugawa Japan, and it may be argued by extension that much that was inherent in Shōin's thought and sense of hierarchy was intrinsic to the physical environment in which he matured. The effect of this conceptual order on the physical form of the castletown has been discussed by urban historians but the inverse implications of urban environment upon philosophical belief have not.

At Hagi the focus was the castle headquarters of the Mōri, set at the apex of the triangle and acting as both the physical symbol as well as administrative centre of power vested in the daimyo. The castle itself was bounded by a parapeted stone wall and a series of defensive moats interconnected with the river system and the sea (Plates 10 and 11). The primary features of Hagi-jō were built in the period preceding 1615 when the Tokugawa restrictive edict came into force. The *tenshu* 天守 or main keep stood until 1874 when the Meiji government, no doubt inspired by the Tokugawa castle control measures, ordered the demolition of all extant castles to facilitate the centralization of its authority. A remarkable nineteenth century photograph reveals the imposing five storey form of the keep with its white-plastered walls and sweeping tiled roof (Plate 13). The elegant parabolic curve of the stone foundation still survives (Plate 12).

Sufficient other aspects of the Mōri castle remain to indicate the disposition of inner citadel or *Honmaru* 本丸 (Plate 10). This spacious inner retreat was situated at the foot of Shizuki-yama at the western extremity of the Hagi triangle. Today it may be reached through the castle parkland reserve. Set behind the Tenshu was a cluster of audience and administrative buildings which fulfilled the

requirements of both the private and public sphere in the conduct of han government and daimyo life (Plate 11). These buildings were created in the *shoin-zukuri* 書院造 mode, the standard style of palatial architecture in the Tokugawa period.³³ Shōin would have visited the Honmaru frequently during the course of official duties.³⁴ To the far rear and on top of Shizuki-yama was a well-conceived final defence position to serve in the event of war, the *Tsunenomaru* 詰の丸. This substantial guard-block measuring one hundred by forty metres³⁵ had stone walls and parapets the remains of which may be examined today, and substantial storehouses for food and military equipment (Plate 8). The provisions of such installations for stone quarrying within the fortifications complex indicates the political and military uncertainties of the period of Hagijō establishment. Such provisions were a common practical feature of castles built in the more desperate days of civil war at the end of the sixteenth and in the first decade of the seventeenth centuries. There was also a simple but effective additional mechanism prepared for ultimate escape by sea should occasion arise which capitalised on the extraordinary features of the mountain. The precipitous seaward facing western slope was planted closely with creepers and jonquils to provide facilities for rapid descent into boats always anchored below the cliff ready for immediate sailing orders³⁶ should the enemy pursue the lord's fighting forces this far.

33. *Shoin-zukuri* style is well represented by the second citadel palace Ninomaru Goten at Nijō-jō in Kyoto which is extant today.

34. See Table One: Chronology.

35. Field trip observation.

36. Field trip observation. The jonquil or *suisen* is a late winter and spring flowering bulb with thick leaves and flower stalks noted for their copious and slimy sap. The theory was that underfoot they would provide a well lubricated rapid descent, with creepers forming hand holds for those in the know. Following enemies, it was hoped, would lose footing and plummet to their

To the eastern side of the inner defences and the Honmaru were two subsidiary compounds enclosed by moats. Known as the *Ninomaru* 二の丸 and the *Sannomaru* 三の丸 respectively, these were the zones of the castle which merged with the city development. In addition to some administrative buildings, they included the mansions where the chief councillors or *Karō* 家老 of the House of Mōri lived together with the *yashiki* of members of lesser Mōri branch families and certain other highranking officials. The *nagaya* 長屋 or guard house of the Sufu *yashiki* in this area has recently been restored (Plate 19), along with the *Karō* Masuda's *yashiki* in a nearby street (Plates 14 and 15). The *Hori-uchi* 堀内 or the district lying within the moat system and embracing those areas under discussion was considered particularly sensitive strategically and only reliable families were allotted residences in that area. It remains in a well preserved condition indicating to the modern observer the high sophistication and comfort enjoyed by the upper ranking samurai families³⁷ in Shōin's time.

Initially the areas immediately adjacent to the castle constituted the nucleus of the castletown but as the Tokugawa period progressed the centre evolved away from its initial focus. It moved towards the area where the lower-ranking samurai lived to the south-east of the castle, blending with the *chōnin-machi*, the home of artisans and merchants in the north-east of the city. This was the *Sotobori* 外堀 or "outside the moat" district. The basic division between

36.(contd) deaths in the deep and rocky waters. According to the research officer at the City Municipal Museum there are no records of this purpose being fulfilled.

37. *Karō* Masuda's annual *oku* income is listed as 12,063 in mid-Tokugawa times. Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 100, notes that his house samurai or *baishin* numbered 538, or 8% of *han* total, divided between *shi*: 263 and *sotsu* 275 most of whom had residences elsewhere in the city.

the older upper rank district and the downtown area was created by the outer moat to the castle. As may be seen on the map, the size of the plots of residential land was generally much smaller than in the Hori-uchi and the arrangement of these plots more haphazard as population pressure led to further subdivision. Between the years 1680 and 1687 an additional moat was carved on a north-south axis across the chōnin sector in order to provide a convenient direct link for barge traffic between the Matsumoto and Hashimoto Rivers.³⁸ Four major bridges linked the Hori-uchi, or prestigious residential area marked by a more previously defined grid pattern, with the two other major sectors of the city. The three bridges with northern connections led to the more intensively sub-divided sector which was primarily merchants' establishments, while a fourth led to an area shaped like a curved swathe cutting deeply from south-west to the north-east.³⁹ Much of this area has developed as small-scale, intensively sub-divided plots for residences of lower income samurai, but minor mansions of major lords are interspersed. Karō Kunishi's mansion and that of Mōri Chikuzen's residence are in this area as well as a substantial Tenmangū, a shrine to the warrior aristocrat Michizane giving the district even today an aura of culture and affluence.⁴⁰ A further two bridges give access to the mainland, the name by which districts to the east adjacent to the foothills are commonly known. Later developments which occurred away from the sea along river frontages

38. Yamamori, op.cit., p. 26.

39. National Highways Nos. 191 and 262 now bisect modern Hagi, and by their interruption to the general ground plan of the city, draw attention to the foundation design of the jōkamachi which is clearly visible.

40. Temple and shrine areas clearly defined in red in the map are interspersed with housing and commercial areas throughout Hagi city.

and roads giving access to the main feudal highway to Edo, were all part of an evolutionary process reaching full maturation by Shōin's lifetime. Such service areas themselves connected with river anchorages, confluences and port facilities, are readily identifiable on the map as focal points of population expansion with the apparent haphazard crowding of their multiple sub-divided blocks. The impression such a study of residential and commercial facilities leaves of a city under continuing pressure of inflow of people attracted to opportunities and facilities of a jōkamachi, is misleading. It should be noted that unlike the Western experience of urban development, population of Japan's castletowns after their initial establishment and consolidation remained remarkably constant. This was especially so of Hagi. The very nature of Tokugawa codes on status and performance confined and directed the physical state of the people within certain detailed structures. The han perforce, confined and directed the physical circumstances of the population. Samurai and their families were obliged to make their base in the jōkamachi even though they may have had landed responsibilities elsewhere in the provinces. Early in the Tokugawa period the Bakufu reinforced laws concerning residence in jōkamachi. This was a studied attempt to counter perceived threats to the fixed social and economic patterns created by the rapid growth of the money economy and consequent population movement into the cities with the reverse flow of wealth into the rural areas. The central government considered such firm controls were necessary if a clear line of demarcation were to be preserved between town and country in the interests of maintaining the essential distinction between the rurally-based population and the ruling samurai class.⁴¹ In the Hagi experience, severe economic restraints prompted

41. Yazaki Takeo, trans. David L. Swain, Social Change and the City in Japan, New York and Tokyo, 1968, pp. 161-5 passim.

by similar economic fluctuations as were felt from time to time at the national level, forced down samurai income. A number of lower ranking samurai families asked official permission to live outside Hagi, in some cases in their own village or ancestral land holdings, in order to avoid the high cost of urban living. In 1669 a blanket concession, covering all samurai under 200 koku income to live outside the town until finances improved, was conceded.⁴² The situation was sufficiently bad in 1755 for several *karō*, the highest ranking samurai, councillors of the Mōri House, to leave town for a period. Craig quotes the figure of 1299 samurai households as being located outside the jōkamachi during Shōin's life time,⁴³ a situation which had the effect of counter-balancing any influx of rural personnel into urban service areas.⁴⁴ As previously noted Shōin referred firmly to the mixed social composition of the Matsumoto community which one may deduct is indicative of a broad demographic trend in late Tokugawa Hagi.⁴⁵

An important feature of the castletown of Hagi was the Meirinkan, the official han academy for training the sons of samurai. Founded in 1719, it became one of the leading educational institutions in Tokugawa Japan. As revealed in Chapter Two, the Meirinkan was a vital part of han intellectual life at the time of Shōin and played a

42. Craig, Albert M., *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration*, Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1961, 3rd printing 1978, p. 76.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Yazaki Takeo trans. David L. Swain, *Social Change and the City in Japan*, Tokyo, 1968, Ch. V: 3 and 4, pp. 143-166, *passim*, for ecological structure, social organization and control in castle-towns and relationships with surrounding areas. Also "Hagi han Zaichi Kashindan ni tsuite", *Shigaku Zasshi*, 62:8, pp. 727-750 (August 1953) on samurai in villages, cited Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 76, fn.

45. Hall, John Whitney, "The Castletown and Japan Modern Urbanization", in Hall, John W. and Jansen, Marius, B. (eds), *The Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, Princeton, N.J., 1970, pp. 169-1689, deals with many such issues in depth.

pivotal role in his education from his ninth year onwards. The location and physical organization of the Meirinkan has some bearing on the interpretation of its general role in han affairs and its influence on Shōin.

The Meirinkan was initially sited on a block of land 940 *tsubo* in area (approximately 3000 square metres) within the Hori-uchi, the sector reserved for highest ranking samurai nearest the castle (Plate 25).⁴⁶ The 1851-52 map of the jōkamachi of Hagi (Plate 2) shows the Meirinkan in a different location, outside the main castle precincts. In 1849 it had been moved to a site of some 15,000 *tsubo* (approximately 50,000 square metres) in the Ekō district of the main downtown area of Hagi.⁴⁷ The site was on the flatlands near the Hashimoto River where the urban spread gave way to open paddy fields and permitted the fifteen-fold increase in its area.

Shōin was closely associated with the physical move of the Meirinkan. As noted in the earlier chapter on Shōin's life, in 1848, the year before the move, he had drafted a proposal for a new curriculum for the Meirinkan. This Ikensho, or "opinion paper" submitted to han authorities, had set out details for the examinations practices to be observed at the revamped institution. The change in location was clearly part of some broader shift in educational policy, perhaps best summed up by returning to Kūkai's statement that "the environment changes in accordance with the functioning of the mind". The relocation of the Meirinkan reflects a profoundly important realignment of its role in han education. The move was prompted by the pragmatic need for more space to accommodate new teaching methods. One was the adoption of a system of larger lecture-type classes in

46. Hagi Zushi, op.cit., p. 37.

47. Ibid., p. 37.

place of the more intimate small-group discussions which had been the normal practice to this stage. The other and probably more compelling motivation came from the need to provide gunnery ranges for western style musketry instruction. Interest in western style armaments, though familiar in Japan from the sixteenth century, was freshly aroused by concern for the national situation and realization of the need to modernize weaponry to counter foreign threats.⁴⁸ Chōshū interest in western musketry at the mid-point of the nineteenth century was part of a national trend, as indicated by a musketry manual printed in 1841 used as part of the curriculum of the Kōdōkan, the official han academy at Mito (Plate 47).⁴⁹

The physical organization of the *Shin Meirinkan*, as the new establishment is generally known by historians, is recorded in a contemporary diagram (Plate 32). This reveals that the northern half of the site was filled with a variety of teaching, administrative and martial arts buildings. The central section has an exercise yard for training in horsemanship, while the southern half is depicted with small figures firing muskets on a well-equipped range. Today the northern part of this site is occupied by the buildings of the Hagi Primary and High School, with the original horse-riding and gunnery ranges to the south now acting as the school playing fields. Only one building survives from the Meirinkan, the Yūbikan, or "Hall of Preparedness" used for special displays of the martial arts for the

48. The presence of Philipp Franz von Siebold, that inveterate and covert exponent of western military technology, as medical adviser to the Dutch post of Deshima from 1823 to 1829, probably stimulated interest in musketry and western military tactics throughout western Japan. See further: Dr. Philipp Franz von Siebold, Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century from the German Work, Rutland, Vermont, 1973 (first edition, 1841); Murdoch, James, A History of Japan, vol. 3, London, 1926, pp. 532-533.

49. Mito-gaku is discussed further in Chapter Four.

hanshū.⁵⁰ Situated at the northern perimeter of the school, it was designated as an Important Cultural Property by the Japanese Government in 1949 (Plate 33). This building is of particular significance because it was part of the original Meirinkan within the castle moat, and was moved to its present site when the entire institution was decamped in 1849.

The move of the Meirinkan to a downtown site constituted a significant shift not only in han education but in the morphological symbolism of the jōkamachi. It may be argued that the han academy, at its inception a bastion of Mōri authority, moved away from Mōri influence with its repositioning away from the castle. It became, in its new location, the focus of the castletown and its intellectual currents in the way that the castle had originally been the centre for the development of the spatial hierarchy of the city. By 1863, so disassociated from its physical and symbolic roles had the Mōri daimyo's function become that, under pressure of incipient civil war, the bureaucratic and administrative centre of Chōshū han was moved for a short period to Yamaguchi, the present prefectural capital.

The preceding explanation of Shōin's environment has established that the shape of his physical world and shape of his thought were closely interwoven. Hitherto overlooked by historians, this connection may be used to help analyse Shōin's thought and activity at the Shōka Sonjuku.

50. The interior of the Yūbikan is divided into an area for *kendō* at the northern end of the building and for *yari*, or spear, on the south. On the western side of the building an observation area was set aside for the hanshū to view displays of the basic military arts.

Chapter Four

Shōin's Thought and Educational Practice



TABLE 4.

TOKUGAWA INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENTS
Their Origins and Major Proponents.*

I Kangaku (Chinese) 17th Century	II Kokugaku (Japanese) 17th Century	III Mitogaku (Shigaku) 17th Century	IV Rangaku (Dutch) 17th Century	V Shingaku (Kyoto or Heart Movement) 18th century	VI Sontoku Movement 19th Century
<p><u>School of Neo-Confucianism</u></p> <p>Advocated Confucian and Mencian philosophy as interpreted by Sung philosopher Chu Hsi (1180-1200)</p> <p>Strongly supported by many scholars</p> <p><u>Key Concepts</u></p> <p>Discipline, filial piety, dedication to scholarship, hierarchical obligation</p> <p><u>Scholars</u></p> <p>Hayashi Shihei (1622-65)</p> <p>Yamaga Sokō (1622-65)</p> <p>Itō Jinsai (1627-1705)</p> <p>Ogyū Sōrai (1666-1728)</p> <p>Yamazaki Ansai (1618-82)</p> <p>Kumazawa Banzan (1619-91)</p> <p>(Nakae Tōju (1608-48)*)</p> <p>*Established a strain of anti-intellectualism and dependence on Intuition- Ōyōmei</p>	<p><u>School of Ancient Learning</u></p> <p>Passionate Nationalism based on rediscovery of Divine Land</p> <p>Religion - revived Shintō</p> <p><u>Key Concepts</u></p> <p>Sonnō ("Revere Emperor") and "Superiority of Things Japanese"</p> <p>17th & 18th century rise of National Learning and search for "pure Japanese spirit" (Kokutai)</p> <p>Ideology survived in ultra-nationalism</p> <p>Emphasised utility of Chinese learning as basis for Japanese philosophy</p> <p><u>Scholars</u></p> <p>Keichū (1640-1701)</p> <p>31 vol work on Manyōshū</p> <p>Kada Azumamaro (1668-1736)</p> <p>Kamo Mabuchi (1697-1736)</p> <p>Shinto</p> <p>Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) most famous Kōjiki scholar</p> <p>Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) on true relation Emperor and subject</p>	<p><u>School of Historical Research</u></p> <p>Collateral clan of Tokugawa</p> <p>Perceived extravagance of both Kan & Koku thinking</p> <p>From early in period centre of strong national feeling with pro-Imperial base. Imperial loyalists nurtured in han academy</p> <p><u>Key Concepts</u></p> <p>Sonnō-jōi ("Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarian")</p> <p><u>Scholars</u></p> <p>Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700)</p> <p>Dai Nihon Shi - Historical study (369 vols) Clarified concept of national organisation</p> <p>Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1861)</p> <p>Political reform but not revolution</p> <p>National interests above Han</p> <p>Isolation to continue plus military reform to strengthen</p> <p>Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863)</p> <p>Fujita Tōko (1806-1855)</p> <p>Tokugawa Keiki - Last Shogun retired in 1867</p>	<p><u>School of Dutch Studies</u></p> <p>Centre, <u>EDO</u> & Nagasaki</p> <p><u>Key Concepts</u></p> <p>Eastern Ethics & Western Science</p> <p>Specialist studies of western science, medicine, astronomy & Dutch language.</p> <p>It derived firstly from School of Interpreters to Dutch "factory"</p> <p>Primary response to West was Seclusion 1639</p> <p>Rangaku stimulated new approach</p> <p>Shogun Yoshimune (1684-1751) relaxed rules</p> <p>Translations 1784 Military Science; 1804 Medicine (Chōhei)</p> <p>1811 - Institute for Investigation of Foreign books</p> <p>1857 - Institute for Foreign languages</p> <p><u>Rangaku-Sha</u> (Dutch scholars)</p> <p>Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725)</p> <p>Hayashi Shihei (1739-93)</p> <p>Honda Tōshiaki (1744-1821)</p> <p>Sakuma Shōzan (1811-64)</p>	<p><u>Ethical Code for Merchants</u></p> <p>Improvement of morals</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. aimed at general education 2. high standards of behaviour 3. absence of speculation <p><u>Key Concepts</u></p> <p>Combination Shintō & Confucian Ethics</p> <p>Frugality and Asceticism</p> <p>"Man is good"</p> <p><u>Scholars</u></p> <p>Ishida Baigan (1685-1744) founder</p> <p>Teshima Toan (1718-1786)</p> <p>Nakazawa Dōni (1735-1803)</p>	<p><u>Agrarian Reform Movement</u></p> <p>started by Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856) (Saint-boy with basket and book) in Kantō region ideas quickly spread</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1st Agrarian Economist and Moralist 2. Collectivist. Pooling knowledge, land, labour, seed but not money. Money must be husbanded and provide for lean years <p>Appointed Agricultural Economist to Shogun</p> <p><u>Key Concept</u></p> <p>"Man can rule Nature"</p>

* Yoshida Shōin in both time and thought stood at the confluence of the Tokugawa Period.

i. Shōin's Intellectual Milieu

Shōin's world was the world of late Tokugawa Japan with all the basic and theoretical structures of the original Tokugawa Ieyasu model still in place. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, they were strained, showing cracks under untoward pressures as well as the efforts of the Bakufu bureaucracy to contain them. In the foregoing chapters we have examined the historical and physical circumstances of Shōin's life, and have seen emerge a picture of a young samurai of high intent and Imperial loyalism searching for a means to fulfil his painful destiny.

The tools to hand were simple, modest and effective, in fact the most common tools available to a samurai - his education, his ability to communicate and students to teach. The educational matrix in which he had been nurtured was a rich one. As Reischauer remarks, considering the non-intellectual heritage of the samurai class and the fact that Chu Hsi Confucianism was finally a foreign philosophy, it is impossible not to be impressed by the diversities and independence of Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa period.¹ Maruyama takes it further by saying that by the nineteenth century learning had broken free of its previous heavy reliance on religion, both Buddhist and Shintō, and become independent in respect to its content and the nature of its protagonists.² There arose schools of thought, a series of different philosophies deeply concerned with the realities of social and political life, sharing a common belief in the absolute rectitude of the Tokugawa feudal order. As we have already noted with regard to Shōin's own

1. Reischauer, E.O. and Fairbank, J.F., East Asia: The Great Tradition, Vol. I, Boston, 1960, pp. 418-9.

2. Maruyama Masao, Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan, trans. M. Hane, Tokyo, 1974, p. 190.

often stated position in the sonnō-jōi controversy, even the most fervent loyalist rarely questioned the Bakufu's authority to act in the name of the nation.

The strength and universality of these intellectual movements for all their profound effect on the course of national development, must not be exaggerated. With few exceptions, they were limited in scope to the intelligentsia, that is, the military aristocrats who had access to power but also had a divine right to education. However, though comprised of about ten percent only of the population of a domain, their strength and influence cannot be denied. The introduction of Matsudaira Sadanobu's anti-heterodoxy legislation in 1790 is the best evidence of that. In the late 1780s Sadanobu's measures appeared more moralistic than practical but they were an attempt to keep bureaucratic appointments within the hierarchy by improving the standards of education of the officials. Dore suggests that the ban on all intellectual movements inimicable to the status of Chu Hsi neo-Confucianism has to be understood in the context of the purpose of education. Official policy determined that education was the means by which samurai, no matter what rank, received the intellectual and moral training appropriate to their role as the protectors and administrators of their nation. Education was not a selective process by which intellectual ability was trained, but essential training for government.³ It was the means to refurbish this function and to upgrade the reputation of the Shōheikō as a centre of neo-Confucian studies in Edo that the bans against heterodox thought had been introduced. Sadanobu defined scholarship as "the activity whereby a person learns to become a full human being"⁴; therefore, education

3. Dore, R.P., "The Thought of Men: The Thought of Society", Asian Cultural Studies 3, ICU Pub. 111A, Oct. 1962. p. 77.

4. The Hayashi family of neo-Confucian scholars established a semi-official educational institution in 1630, later to be called

of officials and scholarship itself were synonymous to him.

Shōin stood at the confluence of the main streams of late Tokugawa thought. In introducing a closely reasoned discussion on the thought of one of the most significant of these streams, that of the Mito historical school, Earl states that its political philosophy represented the final stage of Tokugawa thinking on emperor and nation.⁵ The new emperor-oriented patriotic theory combined Chu Hsi authority, the general Tokugawa intellectual environment and the continuing influence of Tokugawa Mitsukuni,⁶ in order to form a synthesis of thought which would carry the nation through the trauma of modernization. Even Shōin was to say after his visit to Mito in 1853:

"Until now I did not know why Japan was a Land of the Gods. The Mito School has taught me so."⁷

Since loyalism was to be both the basis for his thought and action in the last years of his life, and therefore permeated his thinking and teaching at the Shōka Sonjuku, a careful scrutiny of Table 4 may help to clarify his place in relation to the most significant of the intellectual movements. Such firm categorization of anything as unsubstantiated as the intellectual currents has its limitations, but the table attempts to clarify the ideas and relationships temporally and philosophically. By the end of the Tokugawa period, such artificial divisions were proving inadequate and even the loyalist Mito scholars would demonstrate many aspects of thought current elsewhere.

4. (contd). Shōheikō for the training of bureaucrats. Ooms, Herbert, Charismatic Bureaucrat, Chicago and London, 1975, p. 123.

5. Earl, David M., Emperor and Nation, Seattle, 1964, pp. 82-104.

6. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700) Mito daimyo and one of the *sanke* or collateral Tokugawa lords.

7. van Straelen, op.cit., p. 21 fn, citing Tokutomi.

The Table does, however, provide a kind of ready reference and an easily acceptable means of identifying style, goals and the men who took their place in the rich inheritance of Tokugawa Japan.

A casual perusal might suggest that Shōin, whose name has not been entered in any list, may find his place at the foot of the Mitogaku column as the last and best remembered of the Mito associated thinkers. He could act as a kind of "pivotal placeman" in the spread of philosophy stretching from the most sober Confucian scholar Hayashi Shihei (1622-55) (Col. 1) to the new political and social thinkers of the townsmen and countryside (Col. V). A strict neo-Confucianist when it came to social proprieties, Shōin personified the synthesis which Earl attributed to Mito. In his person and actions he drew into himself the diverse elements of the previous two hundred years, distilling ideas from the works of many scholars which he integrated and reshaped into his own thinking.⁸ The oldest school of Chinese thought which had had a remarkable influence on Japanese culture and intellectual life was revitalized through some of its seventeenth century scholars. Yamaga *ryū*, the school of military scientific thought to which Shōin always gave his first allegiance and greatly enhanced with lectures on Mencius, has been discussed extensively elsewhere. He prided himself on his Mencian scholarship and continued throughout his life to make it the basis of his teaching programmes. Yamaga Sokō's firm restatement of the way of a warrior in a time of peace, *Bukyō Zensho*, was one of his most constant themes.

One could argue justifiably that Yamaga Sokō's teaching was one of the most important elements in the formation of his thought, until one recalls Shōin's writings on *kokutai*. Of course he would not identify it with any school, merely seeing the love of country, the

8. See above, Chapter One, v.

consciousness of its uniqueness and his duty to help fulfil it, as part of the proper behaviour of a samurai. But like all intellectuals of his generation, the refocusing on the early Japanese classics such as the Manyōshū ("A Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves") and Motoori Norinaga's demand to return to a purer Age of the Gods, stirred further the fires of patriotism.

Such a discussion of Shōin in relation to the intellectual movements has relevance only insofar as it reminds us of the point made in Chapter Two, that no man creates his thought in isolation. Shōin was generous in acknowledging his debt both to his philosophical progenitors and to contemporary scholars such as Sakuma Shōzan. Since he enjoyed a close intellectual and spiritual rapport with the older scholar, it is interesting to consider that Shōin did not share the same depth of interest in Rangaku.

Shōin had, however, a prodigious appetite for reading and as he became more and more liable to periods of inactivity during detention, this enthusiasm increased. Shōin maintained his practice of listing books he had studied or read, during the course of his travels and in prison. A look at some of these titles is an interesting pursuit. It is not idle speculation to conclude that, in addition to the books and manuscripts which Shōin notes as having been read or sighted during his visit to Hirado and periods of confinement in Edo and Hagi,⁹ he would also have sighted and discussed most other significant works in politics and philosophy which were circulating at the time. Among these would be books by Japanese scholars which were either translations or commentaries on the writings of European origin filtered through the

9. Umetarō, Shōin's eldest brother is put on record as scouring the han for all available reading matter with which Shōin might fill his periods of confinement in Noyama gaol.

Dutch factory at Nagasaki and the network of *Rangakusha*.¹⁰ By the time Shōin had reached the more advanced levels of study at the Meirin-kan, the effects of the establishment of the Honyaku Kyoku (translation: Bureau) in the *Tenmon Kata* (Office of Astronomy) by the Bakufu in 1844 were widely felt. This move by the Bakufu conferred tacit approval on public distribution and discussion of all works relating to military science, geography and other aspects of Western learning. Heretofore such literature had been the prerogative of only a select group of the interpreters and others associated with the Nagasaki establishment, and those responsible for the annual Dutch mission to the Bakufu capital. Some scholars¹¹ who had been working in Dutch studies since the eighth Tokugawa Shogun Yoshimune had relaxed censorship on foreign books in 1720,¹² experienced limitations on their freedom of expression especially during the Kansei Reforms.¹³ They expressed criticism of the Bakufu's attitude on commerce, navigation and defence based on their observations of international relations, notwithstanding the risk of government reprisals.

Another significant work with which Shōin was undoubtedly

10. *Rangakusha*: a term loosely applied to all scholars associated with Dutch or Western learning.
11. Numata Jirō - "Historical Aspects of the Acceptance of Western Culture in Japan". East Asian Cultural Studies, Vol. VI, Nos 1-4, March 1967. Chronology, p. 122. The first substantial project was a translation project Kōsei Shimpun (The New Knowledge of Public Welfare), such as Otsuki Gentaku in which a number of famous scholars were invited to participate. The resulting manuscripts were not published at that time but were fully available for inspection.
12. One was Hayashi Shihei (1738-93) whose Kaikoku Heiden aroused much opposition from Bakufu agents. The first volume was published in Sendai in 1787. Four years later, after a limited printing of 38 copies, he was denounced as a danger to the state and imprisoned under orders of Matsudaira Sadanoba, first in Edo and later in his home city. Keene, D., The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830, Stanford, 2nd edn, 1969, pp. 45-47.
13. Edicts against Heterodoxy, 1790.

familiar were the proposals which Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821) put forward in Keisei Hisaku (Secret Policies for Governing the Country) in 1798, earning him the opprobrium of the Bakufu.

The above secret programme may seem like outspoken criticism of the government because it gets at the very roots of contemporary practices and openly discusses their merits and demerits. This is the point on which I am very fearful...I have recorded my thoughts plainly, even at the risk of speaking in a manner unbefitting my status.¹⁴

The criticisms of government policy implicit in Honda's programme were still relevant when Shōin set out for Kyushu in 1850 on his first educational journey. It was a significant year when fresh concern was being voiced concerning the foreign presence in Japanese waters. Englebert Kaempfer's observations on the Closed Country Policy, written more than one hundred years earlier, had just been printed and circulated in Japan under the title Ijin Kyōfu Den ("In Fear of Foreign Peoples"),¹⁵ causing no little stir in learned circles. In that same year also the foreign question was kept before the public with the arrival in Edo of J.H. Levyssohn, the last official visit a Dutch factor would make to Edo. In addition Takano Chōei (1804-1850) consolidated the impression made by Takashima Shūhan (1798-1866) by his demonstration of western military exercise at Edo-jō in 1841, with the publication of his own Sanpei Tactiek ("Tactics").¹⁶ This was the last work from the pen of that famous scholar who had expressed strong opinions about the action of the Nagasaki port authority in firing on the U.S. 'Morrison' in 1836. In his widely publicized treatise

14. Keisei Hisaku, trans. Donald Keene, Appendix - Excerpts from the writings of Honda Toshiaki in The Japanese Discovery of Europe (1780-1830), Stanford, 1969, rev. edn, p. 204.

15. This was a re-issue of Shizuki: Sakōkaron ("A Treatise on the Closing of the Country"), 1801. Shizuki's work, circulated in a limited hand-written edition, was a translation of Kaempfer's History of Japan, in which he was critical of Japan's self-imposed seclusion. See further Numata, op.cit., pp. 118 & 121.

16. Ibid., Chronology, p.122.

Yumemonogatari ("Tales told in a Dream") (1838), Takano certainly avoided direct criticism of the 1825 Edict ordering the firing upon foreign ships entering Japanese ports. However, he felt, the Nagasaki *bugyō*, while graciously receiving the shipwrecked sailors, could have explained the national policy of Sakoku to the Americans and still turned them away peacefully.¹⁷

Such ideas, culled from many books, were well assimilated by the time Shōin had accepted full responsibility for the Shōka Sonjuku programme in the mid-1850s. Three points should be noted here. Firstly, the traditional, conservative and thorough grounding he had in neo-Confucian ideas, especially Mencius. His pattern of writing or presentation was well established with the taking up of a Confucian/Mencian passage and restating it simply, afterwards applying it to the contemporary situation.

Their learning was not a reparation for another time, but what they studied today was to be put into practice today, and the responsibility was laid on them.¹⁸

Secondly, the strong sense of law and order which he recognized and promulgated among his students was based on Confucian precepts. Many examples of this are found in his writings and in his family relationships and duty to the sonjuku.

Finally, from the same grounding in the Chinese Classics - Great Learning, he drew his perception of hierarchical order. One of its strongest expressions is found in reference to *Taigi Meibun*¹⁹ - duty or obligation according to status. Called the "Admonition Theory", its explanation and application was to preoccupy him increasingly as his involvement in political activities increased. No matter how a high

17. Ibid., p. 119.

18. Tokutomi Ichirō, "Life of Yoshida Shōin", trans. H.E. Coleman, TASJ, XLV, part 1, 1917, p. 166.

19. Earl, op.cit., pp. 202-204.

or low the status, to fail in this duty to admonish, he believed, was to take upon yourself the guilt of the offender.

ii. Shiki Shichisoku ("The Seven Principles")

The application of these firmly held convictions may be seen in the Rules for Samurai - The Seven Principles, the first of the two major texts identified in connection with the Shōka Sonjuku. A reversal facsimile of the original script is reproduced in Plate 31 at the end of the text. It was not prepared for teaching purposes but at the request of his cousin, Uncle Tamaki's son, anticipating his coming-of-age. It lists the virtues of the perfect knight, *shi*,²⁰ and is an example of Shōin's method of selecting Mencian or Confucian concepts, explaining their contents and then applying them rigorously to real life situation.

The text in translation is as follows:

1. All human beings should be well aware of the reason why men differ from birds and beasts. Man alone has the five human relations(hips). The most important of these are the relations between ruler and subject, and between father and son. Therefore man is man by reason of his loyalty and filial piety.
2. All men born in one Empire should know the reason for its loftiness. After all, our Imperial Dynasty has continued uninterrupted from time immemorial. The vassals receive their fiefs from generation to generation. The rules feed the people and in return the people have a great debt of gratitude towards them. Ruler and people are one body. Loyalty towards the ruler and piety of children towards their parents are one and the same. This is the characteristic of our country along.
3. The Way of the Samurai consists in the *taigi*- Great Justice. This is put into practice by courage and courage increases through the practice.

20. Huber, Thomas M., The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford, 1981, p. 24. resolutely translates *shi* as gentleman which puts some strain on his rendition of *kunshi* (No.5) as true gentleman. Moreover items Nos 1 and 2 are not included in his excerpt yet they contain strong statements on universal principles, loyalty and the Imperial philosophy.

4. The deeds of the samurai must be simple and true without a shade of falsehood. To excuse oneself with skilful lies is shameful. If we refrain from these, all our dealings will be fair and just.
5. He is indeed poor who does not know modern and ancient history nor the teaching of the Sages. To read books and to have intercourse with friends, makes the true gentleman.
6. The exercise of virtue and the devotion of one's talents will inspire a debt of gratitude towards the teacher and it will bring advantage to pupils and friends alike; therefore the true gentleman will be prudent in the choice of his acquaintances.
7. "To take rest only after death" (*Shishite nochi yamu*).

This is a maxim, short yet charged with meaning. Perseverance, dogged determination. There is no other way. ²¹

However, when some time later Shōin found himself in the position of full time principal/administrator of the Sonjuku, a more straightforward rule of four items was drawn up and diligently applied in the school curriculum.

1. You should never disobey the orders of your parents.
2. You should keep your parents informed of your comings and going.
3. You should get up early in the morning, wash your face, tidy your hair, make proper prayers to your ancestors, then bow in reverence, first towards the castle,²² and then turning your face towards the East, worship the Emperor. Even if you are ill you should never forget this.
4. You should follow your elder brother and honour those of high rank.
Never be impolite.
Always be gentle to your younger brother, those of lower rank, those younger than you are.

In the Sonjuku you should observe propriety in your talk and behaviour.²³

21. YSZ IV: 19-20. There are several English translations of this document. I have used van Straelen, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-48.

22. A metonym for daimyo, lord.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

There would be little to criticize in students who adhered to these principles with their exposition of filial piety and reflection of admonitions, reiterated year by year during the junior school education system.

iii. Tokugawa Education

Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, inculcating in it especially duties... 24

Before proceeding to a closer examination of the Shōka Sonjuku as the focus for Shōin's last three years, it is necessary to fix the juku more firmly within the Tokugawa education system and to recall that Shōin had had excellent educational experience himself, as a student and then as a junior faculty member. Hayashi Razan outlined the purpose of Confucian education when he stated:

... we cannot allow disorder in the relations between the ruler and the subject, and between those who are above and those who are below. The separation into four classes of samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants, like the five relationships, is part of the principles of heaven and is the way which was taught by the Sage (Confucius). 24

The heart of the Confucian education was the official academy of the Bakufu in Edo, the Shōheikō. Official schools adhering to this orthodox educational philosophy were ordered to be established in all han, and set aside for patronage by the samurai class. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) describing the curriculum of a han school, reflects a rather dull and laborious learning process. At the age of ten, children were taught by rote the five human relationships, the five constant virtues and undertook training in military arts for the purpose of discipline.

The Confucian educational system, although primarily concerned with morals, encouraged the development of skills and knowledge necessary

24. Mencius, Pt I, iii.4, trans, Legge, James, The Works of Mencius, New York, 1970, p. 131.
25. Hayashi Razan, "Natural Order and Social Order", cited in Lu, D.J., Sources of Japanese History, Vol. 1, New York, 1974), p.236.

for benevolent government. Thus, in order to perform their duty properly it was necessary that they be educationally enlightened.

The same Chu Hsi teacher, Kaibara said:

Those who are born in the high ranking families have the heavy obligations (Shokuban) of becoming leaders of the people, of having people entrusted to their care, and of governing them...They must be taught how to read and be informed of the ways of old, of cultivating their personalities, and of the way of governing people. ²⁶

In the closing years of the Tokugawa period the education system had evolved to a comparatively high level of distinction and distribution, reaching further into society, to the wealthy urban class and members of the rurally-based population. Each han had a fully operating academy modelled on the Shōheikō in Edo and, as in the case of Chōshū's Meirinkan, gradually accommodating young men of ability from outside the samurai class. At the lowest level there were numerous elementary educational institutions for the general public, the *terakoya* (temple schools) dating back to the Kamakura period, and *gogaku* (fief schools), providing a kind of 'grass roots' education system. Only two years after the introduction of the Education reforms in 1872 there were more than twenty thousand primary schools based on these *terakoya*, in full operation, indicating their widespread nature prior to Restoration. ²⁷

The *terakoya* made elementary education in the 'Three R's', available to the non-samurai children and also taught them the moral rules necessary for commoners living in the Confucian structured society. The typical *terakoya* consisted of one teacher, often the local priest, and about thirty pupils, who paid a modest fee, making them a kind of private school.

26. Kaibara Ekken, "Education for Children", cited in Lu, op.cit., pp. 208-209.

27. Ministry of Education statistics, Tokyo.

Beyond that was a network of *juku*, the specialist school, or seminary; there sometimes a whole training programme based on Kaibara's precepts was offered, and sometimes studies at more sophisticated levels, and special subject concentrates under the direction of independent professors.

The order and method of studying books were distinct from school to school and scholar to scholar, but basically they consisted of lectures, learning by rote the writings of Sages, and discussion. Dialogue was a favourite method for those, like Shōin, who had been schooled in the Classics from an early age. During the last decades of the period some very famous schools were established with the sole purpose of educating senior students in western sciences, especially medicine, of which Ogata's *Tekijuku* probably was the most famous.

In his analysis of the private education network, Rubinger places emphasis on the *shijuku* or academy for more advanced or senior students.²⁸ His qualifications for categorization as *shijuku* are that they should be privately run in the home of an established scholar whose style and personality determined the character of the school; that the curriculum should be free of official control, and lastly, a category he calls the 'constituency'. By this he means there are no geographical nor class barriers raised against entry into the school, making them he believes the only educational institutions of national status.²⁹ Prior to the Bakumatsu period "national" was a very nebulous concept indeed.

By the nineteenth century the changing requirements of the social and political order were demanding innovatory response from the great han academies. Relaxation of rules of entrance, attendance standards,

28. Rubinger, op.cit., p. 8.

29. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

and opportunity for talent were being called for the Mito bureaucracy, for instance, introduction of new attendance requirements which were fully operational by the time the new Kōdō han re-opened in 1844.³⁰

Dore states that Mito and Chōshū were two of the very few grading for excellence: other schools found it a more practical system to set a minimum rather than a maximum standard for qualification for official posts, but this intrusion of meritocracy as a criterion for appointment into the system was not widespread.³¹

iv. The Meirinkan

This institution has already been given careful scrutiny as a focal point of Hagi jōkamachi. Some further points should be made in view of the fact that Shōin's educational experience over twelve years was received in the han academy, and as a young instructor he had his first teacher training in the new Meirinkan. As has been inferred, by the 1850s it already had a reputation for innovation. Its modified rules on entrance qualifications were becoming well known. Prestige and appointment came to be awarded on the basis of overall performance at the expense of the traditional deferment to rank. It is possible that the rising local consciousness made the han bureaucracy less sensitive to Bakufu pressures to conform to standards set in Edo and acted independently.

It will be remembered that at its establishment in 1719, the Meirinkan had followed the Shōheikō model, but in the succeeding years had diverged from it. But the 1840s, it was responsive to changes planned by Murata Sufu as much because of his conservative reputation as from internal pressures towards reform. The Shin Meirinkan was a

30. See above, "Life and Times".

31. Dore, R.P., "Talent and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan", Past and Present, No. 21, April 1962, pp. 60-72.

splendid concept, drawn up on bold lines in both curriculum and building complex and efficiently carried through. Craig discusses the reforms in connection with the 1840 han budget which Murata implemented.³² Murata called for frugality, and a concerted effort by bureaucracy and samurai alike to assist with the control of expenditure.

A sample of the teaching schedule at the foundation of the 1719 Meirinkan was as follows:

In Chōshū the domain established a basic collection of instructional time as follows:

1. The school year will begin on the 12th of the first month and end on the 12th of the 12th month.
2. Lectures on Confucian texts will be held for 16 days out of each month at the lecture hall.
3. Lectures on military texts will be held for 6 days out of each month at the drill ground.
4. Lectures will begin at 8 a.m. As soon as they are finished, students will engage in military exercises.
5. Military drill will be held on 5 days each month. . . .
6. On clear days students will conscientiously practice horsemanship. Every day from the 2nd to the end of the month, students will drill in reading from 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. The practice of reading should not be limited to the classroom, but should engage the student constantly even when he is alone.

Literary studies should be started young or the student will not achieve success in them. Hence from the age of 8 or 9 training in reading should begin. From about age 14 the student should concentrate on books. Then when physical maturity is reached, military training should be the ultimate objective.³³

Murata's recommendations for educational innovation over and above the Meirinkan project included the opening of the academy to samurai previously excluded on the grounds of rank. Schools, of juku type, were to be opened at key points in the countryside for sons of samurai families granted permission to live outside the castletown for financial reasons. At the Mōri kami-yashiki in Edo a lecture hall was to be

32. Craig, A.M., Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p. 60.

33. Dore, op.cit., p. 65.

established for the education of samurai in the capital on sankin-kōtai duties. Shōin lectured there twice a month in 1851. One final aspect of Murata's reforms of significance was that expert swordsmen were invited to run courses at the Meirinkan and a select group of samurai left for other han to study, mainly in the practical aspects of military studies.³⁴ Shōin, a few years later, it will be recalled, was also directed to visit Nagasaki to observe foreign weaponry and associated *yōgaku* (western studies).³⁵ In 1852 there were 2599 samurai families of all ranks whose sons had right of access to the Meirinkan.³⁶

In October 1848, Shōin wrote Ikensho containing his opinion on the future Meirinkan. It is lauded by some historians as a radical document.

The re-establishment of this school is not justified if the customs of the country remain unchanged... Long peace brings in formality, but which all transactions are done in accordance with established precedents and ancient customs, and this all leads to the ignoring of reality. We should treat everything simply and throw over the false and make much of reality.³⁷

He was barely nineteen years old at the time and had not been further afield than some of the bays around the Chōshū coast. When after ten years' experience of journeyings, imprisonment and national crises he had the opportunity to demonstrate his supposed revolutionary propensities if he were so minded, he presented the Shōka Sonjukuki, a truly conservative paper.

34. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

35. Yōgaku synonymous with Rangaku.

36. HSR 2. It is accepted as true that Franz von Siebold made a secret visit to Hagi in the early 1820s at the invitation of the Hanshū, in order to lecture on western gunnery techniques, thereby setting a precedent.

37. YSZ I: 13-14. See also Tokutomi, op.cit., pp. 137-138.

v. The Shōka Sonjuku - History and Organization

Rubinger categorizes the Shōka Sonjuku as a school of direct action. He defines juku thus -

Action *juku* are broadly identifiable by their primary concern for immediate economic and political change rather than for a particular field of learning, and by a close student/teacher bond of loyalty that revolved around a commitment to dissident action.³⁸

It requires a firm response by way of clarification of thinking in this matter.

A re-examination of facts concerning the history and development of the Shōka Sonjuku as displayed in dispersion in Chapter Two, will demonstrate that there are three distinct phases in the life of the school. How they flow from each other and the role Shōin played in maintaining this continuity will be apparent if a brief recapitulation of some of the main stages is undertaken. Phase I is the Shōka Sonjuku of Tamaki and Kubo; Phase II, Shōin's Sonjuku; Phase III might be called "The Radicalization of the Sonjuku" and is, I believe, the only phase to which Rubinger or Huber pay any attention; Rubinger, because he places too little stress on its physical form, and too much dependence on Naramoto's interpretation, and Huber, because he falls prey to his own preconceptions that

There is some evidence that Yoshida Shōin had prepared the Sonjuku students as a political cadre from the beginning based on a letter from Shōin to Kusaka Genzui written in 1856.

Huber continues by quoting a part of the letter referred to in the text:

38. Rubinger, Richard, Academies of the Tokugawa Period, Princeton 1982, p. 187 and following pp. 191-207. Rubinger leans heavily on Naramoto and Takano's contribution to the field, viz. Naramoto and Takano, Teki Juku to Shōka Sonjuku, and Naramoto's own study, Nihon no Shijuku Teki Juku to Shōka Sonjuku.

When discussing, one must start with oneself, and where one is. This is only honesty...As I must speak from the standpoint of a prisoner, you must speak from the standpoint of a (young physician)... How many people are willing to die following you?³⁹

Although the name "Shōka (Matsushita) Sonjuku" came to be generally applied to the sonjuku through its brief history, the term had its origin when Shōin's Uncle Tomaki Bunnoshin opened up his own residence as a shijuku⁴⁰ in 1842. Shoin was twelve years old at the time and he, his elder brother Sugi Umetarō and Yasuda Tatsunosuke, Ume Tarō, were the registered pupils. Han records⁴¹ show Tamaki Bunnoshin having to suspend teaching due to pressure of other work in the han. It will be noticed he was entered into the Chronological Tables (Table I) as accepting appointment at the Meirinkan as a military studies expert, which would be a full-time activity. Before that it had been the necessary accompaniment of the appointment of his Uncle Yoshida Daisuke who, from Shoin's earliest childhood, was the official head of the *Yamaga-ryū* school of military studies based on the teachings of Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685). Yoshida had in addition, the responsibility of being the official instructor to the House of Mōri and a well-trained Confucian scholar. He was able to use the more lively and critical approach of Yamaga to good effect on such issues as the position of the samurai in a time of peace.

It will be recalled that Yoshida had no heirs and by family arrangement in 1834 young Sugi, later to be called Shōin, had been adopted as his son and heir. To that end he was given private

39. Ibid., pp. 40-41. Letters to Kusaka Genzui, 7/18/56, YSZ IV: 153-154, and ditton, 6/2/57, YSZ *V: 142-143.

40. *Shizuku*: the general term for the independent-private school of the Tokugawa system between 1830-1867. A Table on p.5 of Rubinger's study shows 796 *shijuku* compared with 8675 *terakoya* the temple school.

41. HSR records at Hagi Historical Museum.

instruction by his uncle Yoshida in some of the aspects of the military sciences to which he would eventually be expected to give his whole life. As it happened, Yoshida died in the spring of 1835 and Shōin took the name Daijirō and succeeded to the head of the Yoshida House with its accompanying responsibilities. At that stage it was considered that Shōin was too young to take on the full responsibilities of his position and he returned to his own home. His uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin continued to care for the young Shōin in his general education but with a particular objective to permit him to enter the Meirinkan, the official han academy, in 1838.

In 1847 the progress of Shōin was marked again by his presentation of a "discourse on peace", Heinai Furon, at the Meirinkan, which is called a distinguished graduation exercise. Now in his eighteenth year, Shoin was also invited to go on a coastal tour of the two provinces of the Mōri defence. In 1848 Shōin became an "independent" teacher of the Meirinkan, meaning that he has risen above the status of teacher-pupil to one of junior faculty member, now giving regular presentations and with his own students giving demonstrations on aspects of military science. At the same time he took on minor official duties at the castle.

At the same time we lose sight of the private teaching activities in the Yoshida household because the family moves residence to another district of Matsumoto, the Kiyomuizu-guchi of Shimizu guchi area. Most han and city records emphasize by repetition, Shōin's rise in the professional hierarchy within the Meirinkan with no reference to the family's hereditary responsibilities.

In 1849 the Meirinkan was duly repositioned in the middle of the city, but it is important to note that, in the context of Shōin's educational accomplishments that the invitation to present a paper on the

educational form of an institution is not normally given to someone not of high academic and institutional standing within it. This is confirmed by the fact that Shōin's nominated tutors, Hayashi, Yamada and Inoue, were no longer appointed to that position. Perhaps more importantly during the spring and early summer of the same year, the Mōri Hanshū took the senior students of the Meirinkan on war manoeuvres along the coast, an indication of where Shōin's greatest talents and skills were seen to lie. As a product of this tactical exercise, Shōin wrote Suiriku Senryaku, "Strategy for War on Sea and Land". Thus, Shōin's interests and expertise were at this time well channelled.

Later in the same year of 1849, in the autumn, Shōin took his own senior students on military manoeuvres himself to Hagadai, to the east of Hagi Castle, and put them through the traditional paces of the Chinese Arts of War. In the midst of all this activity, the Shōka Sonjuku has slipped out of all records. With the stable population of a community such as Matsumoto it is to be expected that Shōin's two uncles, Tamaki and Kubo, continued to carry out private tutorials in the new Sugi House if it were physically capable of accommodating them.

In the next four years, Shōin was elsewhere on his travels and exploration of his country's physical and intellectual riches. Perry's ships came and went, leaving a stunned nation and Shōin sharing intellectual exercises with Sakuma Shōzan in Denmachō prison in Edo. He was, however, continuing the family tradition of espousing conservative Confucian, mainly Mencian, solutions to problems of Emperor and nation as a glance at the chronological table of his major writings will show. When he returned to Hagi to serve out his term in Noyama gaol, it was like a universally academic sabbatical year, with the

intense reading and writing programme. It is in this period he delivered and polished for publication Kōmō Yōwa, his most renowned work. During those fifteen months he kept in close touch with the family who supplied him with his reading materials.

Shōin's involvement with the Sonjuku changed significantly after January 1856 when he was released into domiciliary confinement and began teaching again at the Shōka Sonjuku on a professional level. It is still, I believe, our Phase I. Shōin is still beholden to his uncle and father and teaches only as a member of staff. What did he teach and what kind of teaching-learning experience did the juku students have, and who were the students?

Shōin had two levels of students; one, the boys already on his uncle Kubo's school roll, and the other, the local students, mostly somewhat older, who came across the river each day when statutory classes at Meirinkan were finished. The actual number of students associated with Shōka Sonjuku is difficult to determine as enrolment documents as such are not in existence, though lists have been compiled by scholars working at sources at a later date. It is possible to find names listed in other documents but they are inconsistent with each other until the last days before Shōin's arrest. Then political considerations focused interest on personnel, as may be seen by reference to Table 5, and rolls were kept. This analyzes the official record with the identification of status and age.⁴²

It must be remembered that the school far from being a degree-granting institute, was a private coaching college and as such vulnerable to fluctuating membership. Furukawa is prepared to concede a

42. It should be noted that contrary to expectations of the activist and revolutionist historians, the distribution of status is conservative by late Tokugawa standards. Of 52 students listed, including ashigaru, the samurai class is represented by 32 students, there are four sons of doctors and one doctor (Iida), 2 designated merchants, and the rest commoners.

working list of more than two hundred names, but Shōin's more realistic housekeeping record of "persons who take meals at the Sonjuku" and who lived in the vicinity of Matsumoto and Hagi, was about thirty each day.⁴³ However, even after the rapid increase when Shōin had introduced his seminar series on Reigaku and Bukyō Zenshū the average attendance per week was two hundred and thirty, i.e. about thirty per day. This was the time of the building programme when students did most of the work, but the result was still a modest classroom of about twenty mats.

The basic essentials of the course required of all students also was modest.⁴⁴

1. Kokaron - Principles of Nation
2. Kugaku - Confucian Studies
3. Japanese and Chinese History
4. Kokubogaku (Defence Studies)
5. Geography - *Toyochiri*, world and Japanese,
which also included administration and
field excursions.

Some small effort was made to involve students in Rangaku. It was a modest programme enlivened by the sharp mind of the young sensei. Shōin was still motivated along Confucian lines but with increasing signs of frustration and anger as Japan's position vis-a-vis the foreign negotiations deteriorated.

The school now entered Phase II, a short one, when Shōin was its principal-administrator through the confidence of his uncles. Shōin extended his teaching to include all Kubo's and Tamaki's students under the one title Shōka Sonjuku, and it becomes closely associated with him. Bogo Yushitsu Bunko ("Record of Confinement 1858") tells

43. Furukawa Kaoru, Yoshida Shōin to sono Monka, Tokyo, 1974, pp. 120-121.

44. Ibid., pp. 160-161.

of guiding the following students: Odera, Kubo, Yoshida (Eitarō) Shinagawa, Okabe, Yukichi and Sakuma. Additional subjects reflect the critical situation in Edo and Kyoto - Theory of foot soldiers in the West, History of Foreign Affairs and so on, reflecting his frustration with the Bakufu's policies.

Phase III. In this final stage he proves true to his training offering himself in death as a sacrifice to a cause and as Niju ikkai Moshi, an example of a Mencian Sage. Here is no captain of a terrorist cadre.

TABLE 5. SHŌKA SONJUKU STUDENTS - ANSEI 4 AND 5 (1857-8)

Intake	Name	Status	Age
Ansei			
4	KATSURA, Kogoro	Bushi	23
4	TAKASUGI, Gensaku	Bushi	19
4	KUSAKA, Genzui	Dr.'s son	18
4	YOSHIDA, Eitarō	Ashigaru	16
5	IRIE, Sugizo	Ashigaru	22
4	ODAMURA, Inosuke	Official (unspecified)	28
4	KUBO, Kiyotarō	Bushi	25
4	MAEBARA, Issei	Bushi	24
4	NAKATANI, Shō	Bushi	27
4	OKABE, Tomitaro	Bushi	17
4	ODERA, Shinnojo	Bushi	-
5	IIDA, Seihaku	Dr.	34
5	FUKUHARA, Matashiro	Bushi	-
4	MATSUURA, Shōdo	Chō	20
4	MASUNO, Tokutani	Dr.'s son	16
5	ARIYOSHI, Kumajirō	Bushi	16
5	SAKUMA, Chujiro (Terajima Chusaburo)	Bushi	16
4	SHINAGANA, Yajirō	Ashigaru	15
4	AMANO, Kiyosaburō (Watanabe)	Bushi	15
5	TERAYAMA, Naohachi	Bushi	21
5	SUGIYAMA, Shōsuke	Ashigaru	20
5	YAMAGATA, Aritomo	Ashigaru	19
5	ITŌ, Toshisuke (Dennosuke)	-	-
5	HARADA, Taro	-	-
4	ITŌ, Hakubun (Hirōbumi)	Ashigaru	17

contd.

TABLE 5.

contd.

<u>Intake</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Age</u>
4	NOMURA, Kasusaku	Ashigaru	16
(End of main body of students attending in Years 4 & 5 Ansei)			

Supplementary List - uneven ranking & attendance

5	KANKAI -	-	27
4	SASAKI, Kamenosuke	Bushi	22
4	SATO, Eizo	Bushi	22
4	SASAKI, Kenzo	Bushi	19
4	AKANE -	-	-
5	MATSUMOTO -	-	19
4	SASAKI, Umesaburō	Bushi	17
4	YOKOYAMA, Jugorō	Bushi	17
5	KAWAHOKU, Yoshijiro	-	17
4	OTOSABURO -	-	16
4	BASHIMA, Shunkai (Umashima)	-	16
4	TAMAKI, Hikosuke	Bushi	16
5	YAMADA, Ichino	Bushi	15
4	BASHIMA, Ura	Dr.'s son	14
4	KISHIDA, Tamon	Chō	14
4	-	-	14
4	ICHINOSHUN -	-	14
4	NAKAMURA, Saburō	-	13
4	KUNISHI, Senkichi	Bushi	12
4	ASAKAMI, Shosō	Bushi	12
5	TOMIGASHI, Bunshin	Dr.'s son	-
5	MINAMI, Kamegoro	Bushi	-
-	YASUDA -	-	-

contd.

TABLE 5.

contd.

Intake	Name	Status	Age
5	NAKATAI, Shigejirō	Bushi	-
4	FUJINO, Arajirō	Bushi	-
4	KOMAI, Masagoro	Bushi	-
4	OKADA -	Dr.'s son	9

Key:

Bushi - samurai

Ashigaru - low rank samurai

Chō - merchant

- - commoner

Sources:

Tokunaga, Shinichirō, Yoshida Shōin - Monogatari to Shiseki o tazunete, Tokyo 1976, pp.84-91.

Umiyama, Toru, Meiji Ishin to Kyōka, Kyoto 1972, pp.131-134.

vi. The Shōka Sonjukuki 松下村塾記

The central document for understanding the role played by Yoshida Shōin at the Shōka Sonjuku is the essay he wrote at the request of his Uncle Kubo in 1856, entitled the Shōka Sonjukuki, or "Record of the Shōka Sonjuku". Its introduction, in which Shōin describes Matsumoto and Hagi, has been translated and analysed in the preceding chapter and has shown the value of this document in shedding light on Shōin's own thinking and attitudes. The greater part of the record consists of details of the history, structure and educational objectives of the Shōka Sonjuku. However, in analysing the different parts of the Shōka Sonjukuki it is possible to lose sight of its overall coherence as a polemical document. It is written in an enthusiastic and fluent style and organized around the theme that education of the people of the community of Matsumoto along Confucian lines will set an example for the nation at the point of crisis presented by the arrival of the foreigners. In view of the overall organization of the document it is presented below in its entirety, the only omissions being at points of repetitive rhetoric. The translation takes up the Shōka Sonjukuki at the point where Shōin had expounded the pre-eminence of Matsumoto over Hagi.

... Last year I was released from prison and (was placed in) domiciliary confinement in Matsumoto. I had no contact with outsiders. From time to time Uncle Kubo Sensei¹ and his older and younger brothers² came to visit me. Together we did

1. Gorōzaemon.

2. Tamaki Bunnoshin and Sugi Yūrinoshuke, Shōin's uncle and father respectively.

research on Confucian ethics and culture.³
 Thus my father,⁴ my uncle⁵ and my older
 brother⁶ supported and encouraged me. (These
 studies) were an enthusiastic undertaking by
 my family. As time passed (this school) came
 to provide tremendous stimulation⁷ to the
 entire community of Matsumoto. At first the
 school consisted of students brought together
 and taught by my uncle.⁸ This family school⁹
 was small and was called the *Matsumoto Sonjuku*.
 My uncle¹⁰ made me the principal¹¹ of the
 school and for some time subsequently it has
 continued to expand. My uncle¹² had origin-
 ally brought the children of the village
 together and taught them. This concept was
 followed (at the Matsumoto Sonjuku).

I said: "Learning¹³ is people studying in a
 particular place. This school bears the name
 of this village. Truly it is a thing of the
 people of the village. When they enter it they
 learn filial piety and when they leave it they
 become loyal. I am grateful to be able to
 attach the name of this village to this school.

... First and foremost the most important thing

-
3. *dōgei* 道藝. The term comes from the Book of Rites and is
 a contraction for the terms *dōtoku* 道徳 "(Confucian) ethics",
 and *gaku* 學藝 "arts and sciences".
 4. Sugi Yūrinoshuke.
 5. Tamaki Bunnoshin.
 6. Sugi Umetarō.
 7. *funpatsu shindō* 奮發震動 literally "spurt of vibration".
 8. Tamaki.
 9. *ie-juku* 家塾
 10. Tamaki.
 11. *kan* 官, implying the position of principal instructor and
 administrator.
 12. Kubo.
 13. *gaku* 學

for the person is the loyalty of ministers to ruler.¹⁴ The most important thing for the country is to put the barbarians in their place.¹⁵ At the moment the nation is in a terrible mess. The loyalty of ministers to the ruler, which had been observed for over six hundred years, has been lost in recent times, along with putting the barbarians in their place. In addition, the people of the nation are greatly dispirited and plans should be made (to fix this).

(We are) born in a divine country¹⁶ and receive the favour of the Emperor. Within the country the loyalty of the ministers to their ruler has been lost and externally (they are) forgetting to put the barbarians in their place. When this occurs, a place where there is the pursuit of learning should calm the people of that particular place. This has been the concern of the three *sensei*¹⁷ and also my own as I make this record.

Uncle¹⁸ Sensei truly and fervently exhorts the children of this village in order first to make clear (the importance of) loyalty of ministers to their ruler and (the need to) put the barbarians in their place, and secondly that they should not themselves forget filial piety and loyalty. However (I also hope that) later on remarkable and unusual persons¹⁹ will arise (from this place) and,

14. *kunshin no gi* 君臣の義

15. *ka'i no ben* 華夷の辨; juxtaposition of civilized and barbarian.

16. *Shinshū* 神州 Also "land of the gods".

17. Sugi Yūrinōsuke, Kubo Gorōzaemon and Tamaki Bunnōshin.

18. Kubo.

19. *kiketsu hijō no hito* 奇傑 非常の人

in accordance (with these principles), transform the mountains and the rivers, and the feelings of anger and surprise...in other words, although Nagato may be situated on the western extremity of the country, it will agitate the nation and cause the barbarians of the four directions²⁰ to shake.²¹ I myself am a prisoner but fortunately I receive reports from those who travel. I have succeeded the two sensei²² at this school and will strive to further the education of the children."

Uncle²³ Sensei said: "The children of the village are great and I am frail. How should we divide them up?"

I said: "The Ancients gave their assessment on the first day of each month. For the time being, for the purpose (of teaching) the children, I shall establish three classes and divide each of these into two, so that there are six grades in all.²⁴ Each student will be allocated a place (in one of the grades). At the turn of each month they will be promoted or demoted according to their progress. The upper class will be (divided into a grade) called 'the advance of virtue'²⁵ and 'single-ness of purpose'.²⁶ The middle class will be divided into 'diligence'²⁷ and 'pursuit of knowledge',²⁸

20. See later discussion of the Chinese notion of the "barbarians of the four directions" which Shōin is using here.

21. Shōin once again uses the expression *funpatsu shindō*, which he had employed earlier to describe the role he hoped the intellectual activities of Matsumoto would have on Hagi.

22. Kubo and Tamaki.

23. Kubo.

24. *to* 等 class; *ka* 科, grade.

25. *shuntoku* 進徳

26. *senshin* 専心

27. *reisei* 勵精

28. *shūgyō* 修業

The lower class will be called 'laziness',²⁹
 and 'self-indulgence'.³⁰ These three classes
 and six grades will create a place in which the
 sense of purpose is heightened and the spirit
 is calmed. Truly when the people of the village
 all advance and have been selected for the upper
 class, then all that I have spoken of above will
 come to pass."

Sensei³¹ said: "So be it."

Recorded in Confinement.

Ansei 3 (1856), 9th month.

Compiled by Yoshida Kuhō.³²

Translator's Note:

This translation is based on YSZ IV, 178-180,
 checked against the original *kambun* text, as
 published in Ikeda Satoshi, Yoshida Shōin:
Meiji Ishin no Ningen Kyōiku, Tokyo, 1964,
 pp. 259-264.

29. *taida* 怠情

30. *hōjū* 放縱

31. Kubo.

32. 吉田矩方 One of a number of literary names used by
 Shōin. It means "The four square measure" and is
 possibly a metaphor for balanced judgment.

The Shōka Sonjukuki clarifies many of the central problems relating to Shōin's association with this school and offers important evidence for interpretation of its role in his life and as a vehicle for his thought.

1. First, from this account the family nature of the school is clear. Shōin makes the point more emphatically himself than is conceded by his biographers. Dispelling the inference that the Shōka Sonjuku was founded by Shōin himself, he states that the school was neither his brainchild nor of his foundation. His own major involvement with the school as its principal came at the specific invitation of his uncles, and he followed the guidelines that had already been laid by family practice. Shōin is writing in fact about a sonjuku which had grown out of the informal educational circles of an extended family, an ~~ei~~-juku, at a point relatively late in its development. In 1835 Shōin had succeeded to the head of the Yoshida House with its accompanying responsibilities for military studies. Uncle Tamaki Bunnoshin continued with young Shōin's general education even after his entry into the Meirinkan in 1838. There was thus in Shōin's immediate background the educational experience of his own family as ie-juku. This would have conditioned his own acceptance of a role in it as an on-going enterprise later in his life, and furnished guidelines for basic educational practices within the school. Of particular importance is Shōin's statement that his Uncle Kubo "had originally brought the children of the village together and taught them", a practice he himself states he follows later. As was the practice in the Tokugawa family, when Shōin sat down to be instructed by his uncle, he frequently did so with his brothers and other young neighbourhood children. This kind of instruction at the feet of Tamaki continued throughout most of Shōin's early years, even after

he had become a student in military studies at the Meirinkan. It is important to note that this type of parallel instruction provided by the scholar in his own home was very much built upon the traditional discipline of the orthodox educational system and did not intrude upon or interfere with the formal instruction in Chu Hsi which Shōin was receiving at the Meirinkan. The complementary nature of the two institutions is clear at many of the subsequent stages of Shōin's upbringing. As early as 1839, when Shōin was only in his tenth year, he delivered an exposition on Yamaga Sōkō's military science for his hanshū. He had been prepared by his personal tutors, including his uncle Tamaki. By the next year, 1840, Tamaki was receiving a great deal of credit for an outstanding pupil. In 1842 Tamaki became Kagaku tutor at the Meirinkan, which gave him even more status in the community and a regular stipend. At the end of 1842 Tamaki, having had his status thus upgraded, had the idea of setting up specialist instruction in military studies in the Sugi House in Matsumoto, to be called the "Shōka Sonjuku". Pupils included Shōin's elder brother, Yoshida Umetarō, Shōin, who is listed as Yoshida Daijirō, the official name he was given upon his adoption. There were in addition four other boys associated with the school, Yasuda Tatsunosuke, Kubo Seitarō (who inherited the school before Shōin), Shōin's cousin, and Fukasu Tamon and Asano Orai.¹

2. Shōin emphasized the Sonjuku's close association with Matsumoto and he is proud to bear the name of his village of which it is an organic part.

1856 is the point where it is usually considered that the Shōka

1. Furukawa, op.cit., p. 121.

Sonjuku as a school of direct action was established. However, there is no evidence to suppose that it was either an idea of Shōin or that it was his plan to promote disequilibrating political ideas.

3. Conservative Curriculum

Third, the strictly orthodox nature of the educational curriculum is evident. It is concerned with inculcating traditional virtues in a community on the basis of study of standard Confucian texts and subjects.

It is interesting to note that the Shōka Sonjuku had diversified its basic curriculum of Yamaga Military Studies to include a more thorough teaching curriculum in the official Chu Hsi philosophy, the orthodox philosophy of state as ordered under Ieyasu. His approach is based on the simplistic belief that if you start educating people in filial piety and loyalty, and in the relationship of loyalty to the policy towards the barbarians, the people will be calmed, and the good ideas will spread out from Matsumoto to Hagi, and thence to the nation by their very strength.

4. In similar manner he uses Orthodox Confucian thought to interpret the contemporary situation, and the basic premise on which his whole concept of relationship between Emperor and Shogun, and between the Emperor's country and the barbarians is fixed.

This basic Confucian document was written very late in Shōin's life, in the ninth month of 1856.

vii. Shōin and the concept of the *shishi*

It has been noted that a concept in general currency in Bakumatsu-related studies is the notion of the resolute leader inspired by lofty, usually imperial-loyalist, motives. The concept is encapsulated in the term *shishi* 志士 which was discussed earlier in terms of its linguistic and historiographical interpretations. In these discussions it also was shown that in general parlance the notion has an activist implication, summed up in the somewhat fanciful but not entirely inappropriate transposition of the homonym "Chinese lion" *shishi* 獅子 to the term. It is essential therefore as part of the conclusion to this study to examine the concept of the *shishi* in relationship to Shōin, not as has sometimes been the case, to define Shōin in terms of the concept. What does the term mean in the context of Shōin's writings and educational philosophy? Would Shōin have considered himself a *shishi*, as others have subsequently done? Was his ultimate educational objective the training of *shishi* activists who would rise up and give full application to carefully pre-programmed revolutionary behaviour? From the preceding discussions of the Shōka Sonjuku and Shōin's curriculum and educational thinking it has become evident that such ideas as that of the revolutionary grass-roots radical are patently inappropriate in the case of Yoshida Shōin. However, the purported nuance of the term *shishi* discussed by such scholars as Huber in the context of concepts like "disaffected service intelligentsia" involves also this activist dimension of meaning.

Shōin himself makes use of the two characters for *shishi* in his writings. Typical in the usage is one of his Noyama prison essays on hierarchy and loyalty:

... Furthermore, once the will (*shi* 志) is fixed,
the spirit (*ki* 氣) prospers.

A man of humble position¹ may have his will reinvigorated.

A samurai (*shi* 士) if he strengthens his will (*shi* 志) will make even a myriad of people succumb.²

The passage appears to offer good grist for the mill of activist interpretation. The last sentence in particular evokes the image of the few samurai of Chōshū taking on the overwhelming numbers of the bakufu-aligned forces at the Hamaguri Mon of the Kyoto Imperial Palace in 1864. But was this style of action really what Shōin had in mind when he refers to the power of the heightened sense of purpose in this passage?

The original section in the writings of Mencius from which the term *shishi* derives, states:

The determined scholar-official does not forget the existence of ditches and streams;
The brave scholar official does not forget that he may be decapitated.³

志士不忘在溝壑

勇士不忘死

In this context a discussion of the insubordination of the forester of the duke Ching of Ch'i implies that the scholar-official with lofty ideals should never forget that he may suddenly come to a violent and undignified end, or that his very life is at the behest of the ruler. In Mencius the term is read *chih-shih* and refers to a scholar-

-
1. *hippu* 匹夫. Note earlier discussion of ideological implications of translating this term as "peasant". In this context the most literal and accurate rendering is probably "a person cut from the common cloth".
 2. *Tsuchinoe-uma Yūshitsu Bunkō*, YZS V, p. 239.
 3. Book III (T'ang Wan Kung), Part II, Chapter 1. In: James Legge (trans) *The Works of Mencius*, Dover Publications, New York, 1970, pp. 261-62. Note that this rendering is based on the original text and diverges from Legge's translation.

official who is imbued with high intent. On the other hand, the Japanese usage of the character *shi* 士 diverged from that of the Chinese in the course of centuries as the concept of the scholar warrior supplanted that of the scholar-bureaucrat in Neo-Confucian discourse, most notably under the influence of Yamaga Sokō.⁴ Shōin was totally familiar with the original Mencian passage and with the precise meaning of the term in the Chinese context. As shown earlier, Shōin spent considerable time during his various terms in prison or domiciliary confinement giving detailed instruction on the Mencian works to fellow prisoners and producing written analyses.⁵ Shōin's particular awareness of this Mencian text and its implications is evident in his final writings. He himself had not forgotten the ditches and streams and faced death with the calm resignation of a fulfilled Mencian sage:

From the beginning of the year to the end, day and night, morning and evening, in action and repose, in speech and in silence, the warrior must keep death constantly before him...⁶

It may also be argued that translation of *shi* as "warrior" as rendered here in de Bary, prejudices this issue. The inherent ambiguity in the use of *shi* in the passage leaves open the distinct possibility that Shōin was thinking more in terms of scholar than samurai. It may be argued that the model of the "determined scholar-official" was closer to his own final estimation of his role than that of "activist samurai". The overall pattern of Shōin's thinking reveals that he was not fundamentally a samurai activist, as the "lions" usage of *shishi* implies. Some of his contemporaries did become activists in an

4. Note especially Yamaga Sokō's *Shidō*, generally translated as "The Way of the Warrior". Opening passage translated in de Bary, volume 1, pp. 389-91.

5. Note especially the *Kōmō Yowa* of 1856.

6. YSZ IV, 238. See de Bary, volume 1, pp. 113-14.

insurrectionary sense, as demonstrated in the *Kinmon no Ran*, but Shōin was cut from a different cloth. His educational objective as stated at the end of the *Shōka Sonjukuki*, may have been "to strengthen the will", which could be activist in implication, but, as the same sentence continues, it was equally "to calm the spirit", which is patently not.⁷ Shōin in his own educational foundations, philosophical concepts, self-estimation and ultimate demise was profoundly, professionally and correctly Mencian. Circumstances even stripped him of samurai status altogether, leaving him to the brave scholar-official's death by beheading at the behest of the ruler. What then of his ardent imperial loyalism, and his apparently activist participation in such incidents as the Manabe plot?

Shōin was unquestionably actively concerned about the contemporary situation in Japan and this led him to various types of activity, but this per se does not constitute revolutionary activism. His criteria of leaders is anything but the statement for an activist radical:

One who aspires to greatness should read and study, pursuing the True Way with such a firm resolve that he is perfectly straightforward and open, rises above the superficialities of conventional behaviour, and refuses to be satisfied with the petty and common place.⁸

Such an exhortation to read and study would hardly have fired up the *Kinmon no Ran* protagonists whose actions, it may be submitted, would probably have been regarded by Shōin as misguided conventional behaviour. Shōin's Record of an Everlasting Spirit, written on the day he died, confirms Shōin's scholarly disposition. Van Straelen professes himself "disappointed" with this document because it lacks

7. YSZ IV, 178-179.

8. YSZ II, 26. Also de Bary, pp. 111-112.

the "beautiful ideas, and magnificent style", the "inspiration" which he had expected from such a man at such a time.⁹ The present writer, by contrast, feels considerable satisfaction when Shōin, having noted that his death has come prematurely in chronological terms, but in the full course of the seasons in terms of his own life, states that

I am convinced that we must...establish also a school for higher learning at Kyoto, which will teach the whole country the august learnings of the Imperial Court...¹⁰

Shōin's concern and activities, like his death, were thus cast more in the Confucian manner than in the samurai mould. Throughout his writings, concern for the status of the emperor and the threat posed to the nation by the intruding foreigners, is increasingly emphasized. His method either in writing or declamation, was to cite a key text, frequently Mencian, in paraphrased form, and then turn the attention of his audience to the way in which the Confucian precedent highlighted Japanese contemporary problems and perchance offered a solution. The solution offered by Shōin may have diverged from the original Confucian response by virtue of healthy injections of the philosophy of Mito-gaku, Motoori Norinaga or Yamaga Sokō, but the atavistic solutions to contemporary problems was firmly grounded in Confucian orthodox thought. The problem for the Tokugawa Bakufu was that, rather than staying within the mainstream of Chu Hsi which emphasized loyalty to the shogun, Shōin reverted to an older and ultimately more persuasive concern for loyalty to the emperor and nation. Shōin thus observed the familiar pattern of applied learning used by the Chinese scholar-official who had risen through the ranks of government service imbued with a high sense of purpose and by demonstrating

9. van Straelen, op.cit., p. 118.

10. van Straelen, op.cit., pp. 126-127.

an infinitely detailed knowledge of the Confucian classics as a source for contemporary problem-solving. In this sense also Shōin was not so much a *shishi* as a *chi-shih*. His apparent activism in the Manabe plot may thus be interpreted comfortably as an aberration from Shōin's basic beliefs and philosophical approach. His participation was hastily and ill-conceived. "One swallow does not make a summer" and the Manabe incident does not constitute activism in the sense discussed so much as extremism caused by the despair of a gradualist forced beyond his established thinking by overwhelming force of contemporary pressures. The Manabe Incident merely proves that Shōin himself could be guilty of "the superficialities of conventional behaviour", in this case, that of the activist *shishi*.

Shōin was not, however, a *shishi* activist by training or inclination. At the Shōka Sonjuku he was not consciously training the leaders of a new insurrectionary government; he was schooling local lads of all classes in correct Confucian thought and behaviour. Circumstances in Ansei rapidly outdistanced his essentially traditionalist and conservative approach permitting him the luxury of a traditionalist's self-sacrificing death in the approved Mencian manner. His death allowed those whom he taught to step beyond the traditional matrix of their master.

Chapter Five

The Fulfilment of the Fourth Season.

Conclusion



Hamaguri Mon, Kyoto Gosho

i. Preparation and Decision

...The Way of the Samurai requires that he realize that something may occur at any moment to test the depth of his resolution, and day and night he must sort out his thought and prepare a line of action. Depending on the circumstances, he may win or lose. But avoiding dishonour is quite a separate consideration from winning or losing. To avoid dishonour he must die. But if the first time things do not proceed as he would wish, he must try again. For this he needs no special wisdom or skill. The veteran samurai thinks not of victory or defeat but merely fights insanely to the death...

Hagakure 1:10¹

It has now been established in the course of this thesis that an Imperial Restoration as the outcome of Bakumatsu crisis and triggered,² not caused by the Western presence in Japanese waters, was one choice among variables latent in the Tokugawa cultural, social and political environment. It is the processes and the decision-making which preceded it in the late Tokugawa and Bakumatsu period which have concerned us. Students of Japanese society are aware that much contemporary business practice is the outgrowth of societal structure and customs and proceeds in a certain predetermined mode. This is particularly true with regard to decision-making. During the process that precedes a decision,

...no mention is made of what the answer might be. This is done so that people will not be forced to take sides; once they have taken sides a decision

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1. Sparling, Kathryn, trans. Yukio Mishima on Hagakure, Tuttle edn, Tokyo, 1978, and Basic Books, NY, 1977, p. 56.
 2. Oxford Dictionary, trigger : device for releasing spring or catch and so setting mechanism in motion.

would be a victory for one side and a defeat for the other.³

Drucker may well have added a qualifying clause to that statement as: "...thus forcing a certain role on the participants which may be wholly undesirable". The purpose of this preliminary stage is to focus on understanding the problem, the goal of the whole operation being action and the willing involvement in the end of the process by all concerned individuals - or consensus. A premature decision which ostracizes some support is considered far less desirable than no decision at all. Here, therefore, clearly before us is the model of political and social processes in Bakumatsu Japan, in which Shōin was fully engaged. They are both conscious and unconscious processes, through which the decisions flowed, a fact which allows us to draw some very plain conclusions.

In Bakumatsu the whole procedure of decision-making forced on the Bakufu in 1853, its fluctuations, its stops and starts and discordant variations, was concentrated on finding what the decision was about, disclosing what alternatives and variables were possible. As far as the senior councillors were concerned it was not concentration on the ideals, the goals, the object of the exercise, not in fact what the decisions should be, but what is possible. This process formerly and statutorily confined to the Bakufu structure itself was, as has been reiterated in the thesis, gradually spread more widely during the fifteen years of Bakumatsu to embrace much of the samurai elite.⁴ It was the process itself which was so disruptive of the Tokugawa *status quo* more than what the final outcome ought or must be. What had to be established

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3. Drucker, Peter F., Management, Pan Book, 1977, an abridged and revised version of Management: Tasks and Responsibilities, p. 375.
 4. At this stage we are not venturing any judgment as to whether it was sought, fought or manoeuvred for - the fact is that once the initial decision was taken by the Bakufu to consult the great lords in 1853, there was no halting the process.

was a consensus that the need for radical change did exist: there-
after and in due course the outcome would be contrived.

In the early stages of Bakumatsu, known as *Kurofune Raikō* [1853-1858],⁵ only the realization that the goal is seen to be of less consequence than the methods of reaching agreement or consensus can account for the seemingly unaccountable vacillation of Bakufu management consultative processes. An essential part of consensus in the Japanese concept has always been the guarantee of co-operation by all whose involvement was traditional or necessary. This process moving through full exercise of all variables towards the point of action, accounts for the almost bewildering speed, often remarked upon by Western observers, with which final action and conclusions are reached. The search for consensus may take a long time: in the case of the Meiji Restoration it was fifteen years in gestation. However, within that search for consensus, personality was shaped, qualities of leadership identified and were nurtured, not in an aggressive manner, but as something absolute and unmistakable.⁶ Drucker, writing in 1977, could have been speaking of Bakumatsu politics when he concluded that in the Japanese context decision-making is not a mechanical job.⁷

It is risk-taking and a challenge to the judgment.
The 'right' answer is not central. Decision-making
is not an intellectual exercise. It mobilizes the
vision, energies and resources of the organization
for effective action.⁸

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5. Japanese commonly dividing *Bakumatsu* into four sections:
 1. 1853-58 *Kurofune Raikō* (The Visit of the Black Ships)
 2. 1858-60 *Ansei no Taigoku* (Ansei Purge or Mass Imprisonment)
 3. 1861-67 *Sonnō-Jōi* (Revere the Emperor - Expel the Barbarian)
 4. 1867-69 *Taisei Hokan* (Accepting the inevitable, "drifting with the tide").
 6. Drucker, *op.cit.*, "The Effective Decision", gives a number of examples of American-Japanese business deals in which these points are illustrated, p. 374ff.
 7. Many of these observations are based on much personal exposure to membership of *fujinkai* in a Japanese village community in Izu.
 8. Drucker, *op.cit.*, p. 389.

Shōin and his *deshi* (students) in the short period 1857-1859 were involved together at the Shōka Sonjuku and were, through no choice of their own, at a critical point in the Restoration debate, though it had not been identified as such. Shōin, while making his own definition of the problem confronting the nation in the long months of imprisonment and house arrest, had attracted to himself potential leadership. A lengthy process of decision-making - the persuasion, the concessions, the objections and counter-objections - had still to come, but the judgment on the identity of those whose responsibility it would be to make the final decision operational in the period after the Restoration had been accomplished, had already been made.⁹ From his first appearances in public life at the age of twelve it was clear that here was a person of leadership potential. His ability to isolate philosophies and their dissenting voices in his later writings, and his acute perception of new elements was remarkable, no less than his determined adherence to those duties of loyalty and obedience which he believed were the prerogative of a samurai. Thus there was a convergence of many alternatives, a gradual narrowing of options in his own thinking, as he examined, discarded and finally recognized the moment when the processes made drastic action imperative; when matters must deteriorate if no action is taken; when the attributes implicit in the requirements of the role he had accepted were the resolve and resoluteness of the samurai, when "duty is weightier than a mountain, while death is lighter than a feather".¹⁰

Thus, armed with something more than a purely Western historiographical investigation tool, we are in a position to apply an acceptable Japanese psychological and sociological process to the significant

9. Compare Table 5 with Kinmon no ran List above

10. de Bary *et al.*, eds, Sources of Japanese Tradition, New York, 1974, p. 199. Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, 1882.

circumstances of mid-nineteenth century Japan. The evidence upon which alone assumptions may be based by its very nature is always subjective and incomplete. Japanese historians have made us less diffident on the matter of subjective judgment, pressing as they do for freer reign for historical intuition. The evidence in this thesis consists of observations under two main headings: observations on the play of cause and effect on a grand scale in the movements of events, and observations upon the motives and accomplishment of certain individuals.

Insofar as a selection of a limited number of persons has been made, the approach is empirical. I have isolated Yoshida Shōin and the small group associated with the Shōka Sonjuku at Matsumoto in the years 1856-1859, considering whether they directed events and shaped society or were the indiscriminating instruments of physical and social forces. This exercise, however, thrusts us back into Tokugawa society and forward into modern Japan and raises again questions which other and great scholars have spent a life-time considering.¹¹

The acceptance of a place for historical intuition notwithstanding, the observer is prey to her own involuntary bias and is hampered by the limitations of the categories of judgment whatever those categories may be. Even if one had lived in personal contact with these men of Bakumatsu, the resulting study could not have avoided this flaw in its foundation, since there is no such thing as absolute objectivity in the approach to questions of personal motives and social reactions. Limited as we are today to recorded data we are even further removed from the ideal position of objectivity as has been discussed in Chapter One.

In an effort to counteract dependency on the written word, I

11. Professor W.G. Beasley of the London School of African and Asian Studies for example, spent fifteen years on his definitive work, The Meiji Restoration (1972).

set myself to travel most of the routes Shōin covered in his lengthy "discover Japan tours", living in Hagi in the extremes of winter and summer, crossing the Shimonoseki Straits to cosmopolitan Nagasaki in Kyūshū which he deserted for Hirado where the Hanshū had an extensive library; and so on through the Kyoto environs and up the Nakasendō to Tokyo,¹² Shōin's Edo. Sakuma Shōzan's house no longer stands in Tokyo but the Shōin Jinja at Setagaya and the execution grounds at Kozukabara where he was beheaded, do. Shōin's footsteps continue to be visible in many places in Japan like the extant Mito Kōdō Kan hiroma discussed in Chapter Three. Shōin walked most of those routes, talking, thinking, writing, but he covered Japan in less time than I, with all the aid of modern transportation, could manage. I believe this living experience provided its own special kind of balance to the learned judgment in secondary sources.

In such a project also, the observer having gone so far from objectivity as to assume an interplay of cause and effect in the events of a nation's or an individual's life, it is impossible to be certain that the whole process is held in review long enough to form a judgment. The functioning of a community involves not only the physical factors of the environment and human physiology, but also psychology and principles of social cohesion in the course of change. These are explored further in our look at the anatomy of the jōkamachi of Hagi, and in the close examination of the *Shōka Sonjuku's* curriculum and personnel. Similarly it has been necessary to follow up issues arising from differing Japanese and Western perceptions of 'group' and 'hero'. Nevertheless, some vital factors unobtrusively influencing the various processes will, no doubt, have been ignored, by reason of their very unobtrusiveness, and it will be for other scholars to bring to light

12. The alternate route from Kyoto to Tokyo [Edo] via the Central Japan Alps and modern Nagano prefecture.

factors sufficiently important to undermine the whole carefully constructed basis of interpretation.

Finally there is no possible way, when making pronouncements concerning a person's motives and perceptions at a certain moment in history, and the extent to which the motive or perception was brought to effect in his life or that of his group or community, to form a reliable opinion on the scope of the help or hindrance afforded by interaction with other persons involved. Any judgment as to correlation between intention and accomplishment can be little more than an educated guess. Nor can much dependence be placed on the observations, in this case, of the great men of Meiji who outlived their brilliant and charismatic tutor, some by as many as sixty-four years in the case of Yamagata Aritomo,¹³ for the same reasons. Like many men of public affairs these Meiji leaders were all past masters at interpreting their decisions to those who were affected by them. In a sense the *deshi* of Shōin's sonjuku lived their lives in a state of constant crisis as did their *sensei*.¹⁴ himself.

In this examination of Shōin and his world it is necessary to remind ourselves that in Japan, the situation generally, is not favourable either to display or the exercise of individuality. There is a corporateness in outlook and practice which few can or wish to escape. In Japanese history where great individuals - the heroes of Western perception - have emerged from the group or community, they will be seen to have used community structures very effectively in pursuit of their own goals, but where there are no such groups or suitable community structures, they create them.¹⁵ Shōin may well be interpreted within

13. Yamagata Aritomo died in 1922.

14. *Sensei*: teacher, master, philosopher, guide, the complement of *deshi* as well as the more commonly used *seitō* (school) pupil: a title of respect.

15. Mishima Yukio [1926-1970] created the *Tatekai* (Shield Society).

his sonjuku in this way. Within such an association or group one personality shapes the personalities of others and at the same time stands more strongly because of their supportive interrelationship. The values Shōin fostered through his deshi became embedded in the life of succeeding generations and in the structures of the nation itself.

Attractive though the theory may be, there is no valid reason to conclude from the current research that only a particular kind of person can rise above the currents of history and direct its course in relation to himself and his community. What seems of utmost importance is that a person should have the capacity to realize when the moment for deciding an issue is at hand and, having confidence in some personal standard of judgment which perceives all the alternatives and variables, selects one. Shōin has this attribute. It is not a matter of condemnation if in analysing the alternatives, the leader forces the issue, promotes crisis, the better to create the situation perceived as necessary for the ultimate decision-making. As in Shōin's case, unpredictable factors come into play in a crisis, so that in attempting to promote a crisis situation there is dire risk of finding an even greater and unforeseen crisis at hand. Unusual sensitivity to crisis was one of Shōin's most practical assets, yet the last crisis of his life, his death, was the outcome of such unforeseen circumstances as he could never have anticipated. Until the moment of his death, his courage and initiative propelled him upwards "flinging himself after his painful destiny".

The philosophies and systems which were to prove so dynamic in preparation for the restored and renovated nation after 1868, all originated in the strong classical-based intellectual world of the hereditary samurai class who, at any time or in any domain during the

whole period, rarely amounted to more than ten percent of the population, and frequently less. The differences or varieties in the intellectual movement which the scholars emphasized, however, contributed to the range of choices and the form any change would reflect. The exploration of variables was therefore guaranteed before the final decision was taken. Irokawa believes that a "chance" selective process made the Meiji state emperor-oriented.¹⁶ He sees it as one alternative among the many which might have resulted from the same confluence of circumstances. It is difficult to give full support to his theories, but it can be agreed that an emperor-ideology-based on loyalist philosophy was well studied by those upon whom devolved the responsibility¹⁷ for giving political form to the changes forced on the nation by events of 1850s and 60s. Loyalist theory became a tool of circumstance which touched off the explosive chain reaction and activated the decision-making process in the country but need not necessarily have presented the final form.

To yield a practical and workable model this loyalist theory with its core concentration on the Emperor, therefore, had to be an active agent for change not necessarily with revolutionary intent. If the theory were to be realized within the changed circumstances operating in Bakumatsu, there had to be an agent for change identified. Shōin, minor character though he may have appeared to be in 1850 when he was first granted travel privileges by his Hanshu, was to be the activator, the agent for change. He was sufficiently free-wheeling within the social structure as a low ranking samurai of a tozama domain, sufficiently informed about the state of the nation, to lay out the alternatives when the moment came. If his memorials and admonitions might

16. Irokawa Daikichi, "Japan's Grass-Roots Tradition: Current Issues in the Mirror of History", J.Q. XXI, Jan-Mar., 1973.

17. For the time being it was immaterial that many of the men involved would later take their places in the first Councils of the newly restructured government. Such ambition was not the primary motive.

sometimes have been open to the accusation of plagiarism, his textual exegesis on Mencius and Sun Tzu, The Arts of War, presented the necessary balanced and learned argument to inform the decision-making process. He did not choose the role but was chosen by circumstances. In his life time there was little to indicate its magnitude, but he felt its weight and paid the cost.

Chronologically speaking, Shōin stood at the conjunction of alternatives not just for himself and those about him, but also for the Japanese people. He gathered together those elements already present in society and thought into an harmonious compound with the emperor system. In himself he wrestled intellectually with the constants, the absolutes and the apparent immutable nature of the Confucian political and social structure. Spatially and temporally limited by crisis circumstances for much of his mature life, he could neither enter actively in the contemporary scene nor move forward into a future transformed society as his potential indicated. Had he lived to take a place on the international stage alongside his former students, who were nationally lauded and historically acceptable, he would, I believe, have been a far more brilliant and advanced thinker and statesman than they ever became.

ii. ¹⁸Kinmon and Chōshū's Lasting Impact on Meiji.

Hagi is known as "the cradle of the Meiji Restoration" by such widely divergent authorities as Albert Craig and the Hagi Kankō Bus Company. Most works reviewed in the historiographical analysis in Chapter One, share a common delight in dwelling upon the long list of names of Meiji statesmen who came from Chōshū, Itō, Yamagata, Nomura

18. Also *Hamaguri mon no hen*, "Incident at the Forbidden Gate of the Imperial Palace", Kyoto, August 1864; a disastrous fight between Chōshū forces and those of Aizu-Wakamatsu and Satsuma.

and Shinagawa, being among them. There has been an almost universal consensus that the connection, between all the major personalities of the Meiji Restoration who came from the Chōshū matrix, was that they had passed through the shadow of Yoshida Shōin, however briefly, at the Shōka Sonjuku. This reasoning leads to the conclusion that all these persons must have been in some way affected or even indoctrinated by Shōin, and that his school for disaffected intellectuals produced radicals who helped engineer the downfall of the Tokugawa Bakufu.

This reasoning also is based upon circumstantial evidence. There is no denying the special group dynamic generated by association with Shōin in the Shōka Sonjuku, but the general consensus fails to reach the heart of the matter. The leadership of Meiji was indeed circumstantial, but not in the sense that some commentators unwittingly infer. The post-Meiji leadership, particularly from Chōshū, was almost accidental.¹⁹ Circumstances selected the men, not men the circumstances. Rather than the Ansei Purge, the watershed between the Tokugawa and Meiji leadership, was the Incident at the Forbidden Gate. In an age of gunboat diplomacy, Western military science, and the fulminations of international trade treaty negotiations, this bloody episode was an anachronism, fought primarily with swords between Chōshū, Aizu and Satsuma over who was to act to guard the Emperor. Despite its traditional form, the Kinmon no Ran had the long-term effect on the Meiji period of determining who would provide the philosophical and practical leadership of the loyalist movement, and hence the evolving national state. The elimination factor for Chōshū was much higher than for the Ansei Purge, counting the total number of those killed in action, suicided or imprisoned. Those who survived

19. Accidental: from the latin *accidens, accidentiae*, so: "things that befall", "not necessarily essential to our conception of a substance or thing", "unintentional chance".

the incident did so largely by accident. Itō and Inoue were not there, being safely in England studying forms of government, the army and navy. Kido was also absent, reportedly in hiding behind the *fusuma* in the house of his mistress. The Kinmon no Ran selected the Chōshū participants in Meiji by eliminating many of the most promising candidates.

It is not upon the circumstances surrounding this affair that we should dwell, it is the affair itself and its place in history. On the 20th day of the 8th month of the first year of Ganji (1864) there occurred an incident at the Forbidden Gate of the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. It was to have profound effect on the course of Restoration politics during the remaining years of the Bakumatsu and the renovative policies which were to follow. This eruption of violence called variously *Kinmon no ran* and *Hamaguri mon no hen*, was ostensibly caused by the rivalry between Chōshū han domain, on the one hand, and Aizu and Satsuma on the other, over the question as to who should guard the twelfth gate of the Imperial Palace (Plates 54, 55, 56).²⁰

The incident, with its appalling loss of life and wasted talent and official condemnation of Chōshū as an "enemy of state" (Plate 57),²¹ was more truly a watershed in Japanese history than either the arrival of Perry's ships off Uragahama in 1853 or the assassination of Ii Naosuke in November 1860. Kinmon no ran was more than an isolated affair such as some of the previous skirmishes between sonnō-jōi factions and bakufu supporters in Kyoto had been. It marked the turning point of public opinion in Kyoto against Chōshū, and Chōshū's acceptance of humiliating defeat in clan politics. Reparations in

20. It is said the gate which is well preserved, shows sword and bullet marks in the framework dating from this Incident (Plate 56).

21. Plate 57 showing the grave markers on the *haka* of many samurai confirms this sense of waste.

property and life were ordered by the irate Chōshū han conservative bureaucracy who believed that, only in wiping the slate clean could Chōshū renegotiate her status on the national scene and supersede Satsuma in the Imperial favour.

Four outstanding men of future leadership potential died on 20th of August - Kusaku Genzui, Kijima Matabei, Terashima Chuzaburō and Irie Kuichi, three of them being under 25 years of age. Three members of the Chōshū karō (two of them *eidai*, including Fukuhara Echigo), were ordered to commit seppuku in delegated responsibility, together with four lesser han official. Seven han army officers, including two of Shōin's former students, Sakuma Sahei and Nakamura Kuro, had the choice of seppuku or execution later at Noyama prison in Hagi. The large body of official han military personnel and voluntary troops,²² involved in the Incident, were given face-saving opportunity for dispersion. However, of these men, Maki Izumi²³ and fifty samurai withdrew to Yamazaki between Osaka and Kyoto, where Chōshū han had a yashiki. Here seventeen, including Maki himself, are known to have committed a dignified seppuku. The loss of life and future of men whose highest wish was to serve the Emperor and nation, fractured the continuity in leadership and marked the end of bushi mentality, the confidence in traditional means to attain revolutionary new goals (Plate 23).²⁴

22. Shōtai, auxiliary militia units, were established by Takasugi in 1863 to complement the rigid class structure of the official Chōshū military establishment (sempōtai). Volunteers from both samurai and rural classes were incorporated and shōtai rapidly became the military spearhead of loyalist thought reflecting Sufu Masanosuke's policies within the han bureaucracy.

23. "I have ended by being interred in the rocky crags of a large mountain peak; the Japanese spirit [is summed up] in the months and years of my life." Maki Izumi's last words, trans. Harootunian, op.cit., p. 314.

24. This plate shows part of Hagi Historical Museum and records which proved invaluable to this research.

Of the casualties listed in Chōshū records, a number had been Shōin's students. They included:

Kusaka Genzui (1840-64), loyalist; son of han doctor; student of Shōin; officer of Kiheitai; suicided on same day at Takatsukasa's residence in Kyoto.

Terajima Chūzaburō (1843-64), loyalist and student of Shōin; officer; suicided at Takatsukasa's residence.

Irie Kuichi (also Sugizo) (1836-64), loyalist and student of Shōin; officer; suicided at Takatsuka's residence also.

Nine others died voluntarily by their own hand or at the injunction of the han officials, and some were executed after imprisonment at Noyama. One of this last group was Nakamura Kūrō, Shōin's student in military tactics, and also Matsushima Goro, head of the Chōshū han naval force, and Shōin's brother-in-law. They were all able men. Others associated with Shōin and of known ability and loyalist sympathies, who suicided voluntarily as reparation for their involvement at the planning level of the Incident, were Sufu Masanosuke, Suō Kanebo who had represented Chōshū bureaucracy at Shōin's execution in 1859, and Maki Izumi, Shōin's friend, a Shintō priest from Kurume han associated with Chōshū loyalists. The eminent senior han official, Nagai Uta, died by his own hand three months later. Chōshū han was devastated.

The accidental circumstances concerning the absence of Kido, Itō and Inoue have already been mentioned. They were later to become leaders of the first Meiji Cabinets; Nomura Yasushi, one of Shōin's youngest and much loved students likewise. Takasugi Shinsaku, student and friend of Shōin, was present at the Incident. He survived, however, to become a brilliant military strategist and visited Shanghai to initiate a trade and colonization programme on behalf of Japan, soon afterwards. Regrettably, he died of consumption in 1867 on the eve of the Restoration.

iii. Ideology of the structured death

If one learns the way in the morning,
Then one can die in the evening,
Without regret. ²⁵

In Tokugawa Japan samurai as a social stratum had their own special code of ethics (*bushido*) over and above the codes and relationships defined under Tokugawa law and custom, Shōin no less than any other. There are a number of references to death in his writings:

From the beginning of the year to the end, day and night, morning and evening, in action and repose, in speech and in silence, the warrior must keep death constantly before him and have ever in mind that the one death [which he has to give] should not be suffered in vain. In other words [he must have perfect control over his own death] just as if he were holding an intemperate steed in rein. Only he who truly keeps death in mind this way can understand what is meant by [Yamaga Soko's maxim of] "preparedness".²⁶

Conditioned from his boyhood to think and behave as a samurai, confrontation with death was a reality, for any particular minute or a day. Its possibility loomed much larger after the excesses of loyalty, anger and lobbying of November and December, 1858. In prison at Denmachō some of the difficulty lay in that he had longer than some of his fellow prisoners to think of his failures - failure in loyalty to his family, failure in pressing the cause of the Emperor, and regret at the incompleted tasks at the Sonjuku. When the sentence was announced for execution the following day, however, like many samurai and scholars before him he set himself to write the Ryūkon Roku ("In

25. Confucius' *bon mot*, cited Nakae Chōmin, *Ichinen Yūhan* in Nakae Chōmin Shu, ed. Hayashi Shigeru, Tokyo, 1967, p. 166; also Lifton, Robert J. *et al.*, Six Lives, Six Deaths, New Haven and London, 1979, p. 114.

26. YSZ IV: 238. Trans. de Bary *et al.*, eds, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 113.

Search of an Everlasting Spirit"). It is not only a life in review, but is self-consciously a last will and testament after the style of many memorable and not so memorable Tokugawa period prison diaries and journals. It seems to be an attempt to emulate not only Yamaga Sokō's Haishō Zampitsu but Sakuma Shōzan's apologia Seiken Roku ("Reflections on My Errors"), though for neither was death as imminent as it was for Shōin.

The Ryūkon Roku has been said to have stirred many hearts with the fire of loyalty and passionate nationalism, but it has few highlights of intellectual expression. Nonetheless, it is an unforgettable document, proceeding from a declaration of confidence in his decision to precipitate the end:²⁷ "My Japanese soul will live forever." He self-consciously makes classical references to a Chinese, Kū ping, who suicided after his final act of admonition of the Emperor failed in its purpose.²⁸ Then follows a step by step account of Shōin's performance at the interrogation in Edo during the course of which he states, "I would not deny my guilt, and so concluded my declaration".²⁹

On the other hand, the Ryūkon Roku is full of practical concern for the friends who had already fallen victim to the Purge like himself, especially the young Echizen samurai, Hashimoto Sanai, executed five days previously. More significant is the passage on life and its transcendental reputation, as "splendid like the sun and moon".³⁰ We have already noted the famous passage on Shōin's "four seasons", ending in his acceptance that irrespective of the length, his life is a rounded whole.

27. van Straelen, op.cit., p. 119, translation.

28. Ibid., p. 120.

29. Ibid., p. 121.

30. Ibid., p. 118. Quoted by unacknowledged.

Yoshida Shōin has already had his four seasons;
 he has sent forth his ears with ripe grain.
 Whether they are blasted ears or corn, I do not
 know myself. If any companions have pity on my
 misfortune and take over my task, the seed of the
 future will not die, and I will have fulfilled my
 four seasons. My companions please think this
 over!....'Because you are expecting death, intensify
 your prayers against all enemies, that they may
 leave us our own spirit'.³¹

There is no railing against the Bakufu on account of his impending death. Significantly his last recorded thoughts, apart from a collection of indifferent *waka*,³² are of the Sonjuku, referring to a report on its future which he had compiled while awaiting sentence. His continuing pre-occupation with educational practice and institutions at such a time is remarkable.

I am convinced that we must not confine ourselves to the plan of publishing ordinances but establish also a school for higher learning at Kyoto, which will teach the whole country the august learning of the Imperial Court and attract to Kyoto the greatest talents of the country...Then all true doctrines and certain teachings of ancient and modern times will be collected....³³

With a calm demeanour Shōin went to his death at 10 a.m. the following day.

The notion of death is central to the interpretation of Shōin's life and to the enduring significance of the Sonjuku. Shōin himself died a violent death, many of his *deshi* also met violent ends, and the period in which they were active was characterized by upheaval and violence. It is therefore important that Shōin's significance as teacher and mentor of the men of Meiji is seen within the particular meaning death held in the context of Bushidō. This prevailing philosophical and ethical basis of the warrior class, was highly specific in the

31. This quotation from a friend's letter concerns a samurai who fell victim to the judgment of the Lord of Kuwana and died cursing his enemies. It is included in the text, trans. *ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

32. YSZ IV: 512-513. Also van Straelen, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-127.

33. YSZ IV: 512-513. Also van Straelen, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-127.

meaning it gave to death and the practice of death.

I discovered that the Way of the Samurai is death.
In a life or death crisis, simply settle it by
choosing immediate death.³⁴

Suicide for the Tokugawa samurai elite was an integral part of their understanding of death with no moralistic judgment concerning death against self as a sin. In fact, suicide became a highly refined instrument of social control not necessarily in form but in motivation. Lifton believes that *seppuku*, the term applied to suicide in the Japanese situation, more often than *hara kiri*, symbolizes the ultimate instrument of self control and display of one's responsibilities to society,³⁵ and one's final gesture of independence. "Laying claim to one's death" in the way in which Shōin accepted his fate, though not suicide in the strictly mechanical sense of the word, was nevertheless akin to it in spirit. By choosing the manner in which death would come, he opened the way for his continuation within the firmly knit group who were his friends and students. A particular way of dying becomes a means of perpetuating certain important cultural symbols.³⁶ Shōin, denied a samurai death by seppuku because of his loss of status nine years previously by undertaking rash actions motivated by high intent, laid claim to his own death, thereby undergoing a change of status within his group - from life to death - but not expulsion from that group. In these terms Shōin's death was the means of freeing a new spirit among those with whom he had the most intimate association.

Nothing do I regret of the many things
I had in me and turned into words...

Ryūkon Roku

34. Sparling, op.cit., p. 99. Hagakure Book II.

35. Lifton, Katō and Reich, Six Lives, Six Deaths, New Haven and London, 1974, p. x.

36. Ibid., p. 23.

Yoshida Shōin became more important after his death than before it, more significant and potent politically as a martyr to a cause, than he could be during his brief span of life. This may be called the transcendental factor in the Shōin tradition.

In his short but brilliant career Shōin demonstrated the various intellectual and political aspects of the Tokugawa period.

The later history of the students of the Shōka Sonjuku in post-Restoration days reveals that, of the comparatively large number of gifted and highly motivated young samurai attending classes at Matsumoto, proportionally few ultimately attained high political office. Those who did have remained fixed in Japanese history as the quintessence of the Meiji Restoration itself. The examination of the seemingly minor Incident at the Forbidden Gate reveals an almost accidental selection process at work, eliminating some elements of the persuasive theories of motivation, but at the same time by eliminating men of promise from Shōin's original talent pool, opening the doors of opportunity for others less well identified.

Such factors are important in assessing the impact of Shoin's philosophy and teaching at the Shōka Sonjuku. Here in the final eighteen months Shōin used conservative means for radical ends which he had as yet not identified.

Shōin felt acutely within himself the discontinuities imposed by the Harris treaties on the Yamata^① Damashii, the Land of the Gods. In 'claiming his own death' he defeated this fracture, laying before his students and companions a symbolic immortality, forcing them to make moral and political judgments for themselves.

His death freed him from the dilemma with which he had struggled but it did not free him from the judgment of history.

SHŌIN'S FINAL WORDS:

吾今為國死
死不負君親
悠久天地事
鑑照在明神

I am now to die for the sake of
the country (but) in dying my
loyalty to the Emperor is not
defeated, Calmly I become a
thing of the Emperor.

* * * * *

iv. POSTLUDE

This thesis demonstrates that, far from being a radical, a revolutionary, a terrorist by intent, in the contemporary perception of their meaning, the young samurai of impeccable classical scholarship fell foul of the traditional, social and political structure. In the face of the uncontrollable and unforeseen circumstances facing the nation its structure was already indicating its fragility. By acts of loyalism and 'heroic deeds of high intent', Shōin not only witnessed to this fragility, but at the time of his death was moving forwards to a position in which he would have demonstrated the particularism and inadequacy, and decisive potential of the very Emperor-system itself as the final solution to the needs of the nation.¹ In his writings on imperial loyalism, some wild, some trenchant, but all couched in the magnificent fluid language of Confucian rhetoric, he was approaching a point at which he would have exposed more positively the actual range of potentialities for the nation's future, of which imperial restoration was one only. The sonnō position of the 1850s to which Shōin contributed his own deeply felt convictions, in the 1860s sloughed off those aspects of jōi to which it was initially wedded. in a compromise effort to accomplish Imperial Court-Shogunal unity, and thus national consensus. The violent termination of Shōin's life at this point meant his ability to control the future development of his philosophy also terminated. As his head fell into the Kozukabara dust so ended the chance of carrying forward his philosophy of Emperor, as focus of loyalty in a national state devoid of domanical partition, into some concept more relevant to the 1860s. The men of Meiji, his

1. See Chapter One, v, 'Grass Roots' Historiography, for a discussion of this point.

students, accepted a static proposition and promulgated it. As history proves it was no less successful in its goals for that, but it is by no means an improper speculation to suppose that, judging by the experience of the previous decade, Shōin's concept of Emperor and nation would have advanced beyond that of his friends by 1869, had he lived to see it. It could be concluded that an examination of the careers, the motives and goals, of the men in positions of the leadership-elite still affords useful channels to understanding the Meiji Restoration. For all its limitation, balancing theories of revolution against theories of modernization and of social ferment has its legitimate methodological function.

But the case of Yoshida Shōin continues to set an historical conundrum. In his early life Shōin, of military aristocratic birth but no wealth, was as keen-minded and well trained as the young men around him, more able than most of those who later became the prime ministers and manned the Meiji cabinets. Yet he never became a government or national leader and the conventions of elitist history cannot be applied to him. A black and white perspective argues that, martyred at twenty-nine years of age, after a trial of limited legality, for crimes against the state of the most ephemeral nature often plotted but never carried out, he belongs to the category of the oppressed, the heroes of the countryside, the revolutionaries. We must stop short of the tempting nomenclature "unsung heroes" for unsung he certainly is not. In the brief intellectual intimacy Shōin enjoyed within a high pressure group of senior students in the last months of 1858-1859, he was able to pass on not only knowledge and experience but something of that intangible quality "high intent".

At Hagi in the Shōka Sonjuku his outstanding intellect and personality profoundly affected the lives of nearly eighty young samurai.

Some of these were to die in the uncertain pre-Restoration days especially at the *Hamaguri mon*, but more than thirty lived on to receive honours varying from Court rank to title signifying their contribution to the modern nation.

He was full of high ideals, grand visions and ambitious projects, yet he failed in almost all his undertakings, for want, one could say, of common sense. It is not easy for a foreign student to understand why he so strongly influenced the minds of his contemporaries and was so extravagantly praised by later generations. It is clear there is something in his life which appeals to the emotions of his compatriots.²

Yamagata Aritomo who was to outlive his teacher by sixty-three years and attained to most of the high offices in the nation, wrote about Shōin's death:

... an uneradicable tragedy causing great sadness to all loyalists, and ineffable sorrow to me.³

*Jitsu ni sono mijikai jinsei ga Nippon
no rekishi o kaeta no desu.*⁴

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2. Sansom, G.B., The Western World and Japan, London, 1950, p. 284.
 3. Hackett, Roger, Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan Cambridge, Mass., p. 10, citing Gansetsu Yamagata Kōikkō, Tokyo, 1926.
 4. "Such a brief time changed Japanese history".
Hagi Shōin Jinja recorded narration.

APPENDIX A.

An American eyewitness account of the Incident at Shimoda,
night of 24th April 1854.¹

The various officers of the squadron now visited the shore daily, and for a time there was apparently less disposition to interfere with their movements, or watch their proceedings. On one of these occasions a party had passed out into the country beyond the suburbs, when they found two Japanese following; but, as they were supposed to be a couple of spies on the watch, little notice was at first taken of them. Observing, however, that they seemed to be approaching as if stealthily, and as though desirous of seeking an opportunity of speaking, the American officers awaited their coming up. On being accosted the Japanese were observed to be men of some position and rank, as each wore the two swords characteristic of distinction, and were dressed in wide but short trousers of rich silk brocade. Their manners showed the usual courtly refinement of the better classes, but they exhibited the embarrassment of men who evidently were not perfectly at their ease, and were about doing something of dubious propriety. They cast their eyes stealthily about, as if to assure themselves that none of their countrymen were at hand to observe their proceedings, and then approaching one of the officers and pretending to admire his watch-chain, slipped within the breast of his coat a folded paper.² They now significantly with the finger upon the lips, entreated secrecy, and rapidly made off.

During the succeeding night about two o'clock, A.M., (April 25th), the officer of the mind watch, on board the steamer Mississippi, was aroused by a voice from a boat alongside, and upon proceeding to the gangway, found a couple of Japanese, who had mounted the ladder at the ship's side, and upon being accosted, made signs expressive of a desire to be admitted on board.

They seemed very eager to be allowed to remain, and showed a very evident determination not to return to the shore, by the desire they expressed of casting off their boat, utterly regardless of its fate. The captain of the Mississippi directed them to the flag-ship, to which, on retiring to their boat, they pulled off at once. Having reached her with some difficulty, in consequence of the heavy swell in the harbour, they had hardly got upon the ladder and mounted to the gangway, when their boat got adrift, either by accident, or from being let go intentionally. On their reaching the deck, the officer informed the Commodore of their presence, who sent his interpreter to confer with them and learn the purposes of their untimely visit. They frankly confessed that their object was to be taken to the United States, where they might gratify their desire of travelling, and seeing the world. They were

1. Tomes, Robert, The Americans in Japan: An Abridgement of the Government Narrative of the U.S. Expedition to Japan under Commodore Perry. New York and London, 1857, pp. 202-300.

2. See end of Appendix.

now recognized as the two men who had met the officers on shore, and given one of them the letter. They seemed much fatigued by their boating excursion, and their clothes showed signs of being travel-worn, although they proved to be Japanese gentlemen of good position. They both were entitled to wear the two swords, and one still retained a single one, but they had left the other three in the boat which had gone adrift with them. They were educated men, and wrote the mandarin Chinese with fluency and apparent elegance, and their manners were courteous and highly refined. The Commodore, on learning the purpose of their visit, sent word that he regretted that he was unable to receive them, as he would like very much to take some Japanese to America with him. He, however, was compelled to refuse them until they received permission from their government, for seeking which they would have ample opportunity, as the squadron would remain in the harbor of Simoda for some time longer. They were greatly disturbed by this answer of the Commodore, and declaring that if they returned to the land they would lose their heads, earnestly implored to be allowed to remain. The prayer was firmly but kindly refused. A long discussion ensued, in the course of which they urged every possible argument in their favor, and continued to appeal to the humanity of the Americans. A boat was now lowered, and after some mild resistance on their part to being sent off, they descended the gangway piteously deploring their fate, and were landed at a spot near where it was supposed their boat might have drifted.

On the afternoon of the next day, Yenoske, the chief interpreter, who had arrived from Yedo, came on board the Powhatan, and requested to see the flag-lieutenant, to whom he stated, that "last night a couple of demented Japanese had gone off to one of the American vessels", and wished to know if it had been the flag-ship; and if so, whether the men had been guilty of any impropriety. The flag-lieutenant replied, that it was difficult to retain any very precise recollection of those who visited the ships, as so many were constantly coming from the shore in the watering boats and on business, but he assured the interpreter that no misdemeanour could have been committed, or he would have been aware of the fact. The interpreter was then asked, whether the Japanese he referred to had reached the shore in safety, to which the very satisfactory answer that "they had" was received.

The Commodore, upon hearing of the visit of the interpreter and the apparent anxiety of the Japanese authorities in regard to the conduct of the two strange visitors to the ships, sent an officer on shore in order to quiet the excitement which had been created, and to interpose as far as possible in behalf of the poor fellows, who it was certain would be pursued with the utmost rigor of Japanese law. The authorities were thanked for the solicitude they had expressed lest the Americans should have been inconvenienced by any of their people, and assured that they need not trouble themselves for a moment with the thought that so slight a matter had been considered otherwise than a mere trivial occurrence unworthy of any investigation. The Japanese were further informed that they need give themselves no anxiety for the future, as none of their countrymen should be received on board the American ships without the consent of the authorities, as the Commodore and his officers were not disposed to take advantage of their confidence or act in any way that would be inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty.

If the Commodore had felt himself at liberty to indulge his feelings, he would have gladly given a refuge on board his ship to the poor Japanese, who apparently sought to escape from the country from the desire of gratifying a liberal curiosity, which had been stimulated by the presence of the Americans in Japan. There were other considerations which, however, had higher claims than an equivocal humanity. To connive at the flight of one of the people was to disobey the laws of the Empire, and it was the only true policy to conform, in all possible regards, to the institutions of a country by which so many important concessions had already been reluctantly granted. The Empire of Japan forbids the departure of any of its subjects for a foreign country under the penalty of death, and the two men who had fled on board the ships were criminals in the eye of their own laws, however innocent they might have appeared to the Americans. Moreover, although there was no reason to doubt the account the two Japanese gave of themselves, it was possible they were influenced by other and less worthy motives than those they professed. It might have been a stratagem to test American honor, and some believed it so to be. The Commodore, by his careful efforts to impress upon the authorities how trifling he esteemed the offence, hoped to mitigate the punishment to which it was amenable. The event was full of interest, as indicative of the intense desire for information on the part of two educated Japanese, who were ready to brave the rigid laws of the country, and to risk even death for the sake of adding to their knowledge. The Japanese are undoubtedly an inquiring people, and would gladly welcome an opportunity for the expansion of their moral and intellectual faculties. The conduct of the unfortunate two was, it is believed, characteristic of their countrymen, and nothing can better represent the intense curiosity of the people, while its exercise is only prevented by the most rigid laws and ceaseless watchfulness lest they should be disobeyed. In this disposition of the people of Japan, what a field of speculation, and, it may be added, what a prospect full of hope opens for the future of that interesting country!

Some days subsequently, as a party of officers were strolling in the suburbs, they came upon the prison of the town, where they recognized the two unfortunate Japanese immured in one of the usual places of confinement, a kind of cage, barred in front and very restricted in dimensions. The poor fellows had been immediately pursued upon its being discovered that they had visited the ships, and after a few days they were pounced upon and lodged in prison. They seemed to bear their misfortune with great equanimity, and were greatly pleased apparently with the visit of the American officers, in whose eyes they evidently were desirous of appearing to advantage. On one of the visitors approaching the cage, the Japanese wrote on a piece of board that was handed to them the following, which, as a remarkable specimen of philosophical resignation under circumstances which would have tried the stoicism of Cato, deserves a record.

APPENDIX A. - Postscript³

When the American officers, a few days later, went ashore again, they passed an open prison and there recognised Shōin and Kaneko in a kind of cage of small dimensions (which still exist in Japan in modern times). "They seemed to bear their misfortune with great equanimity, and were greatly pleased apparently with the visit of the American officers". When one of the visitors was approaching the cage, one of the Japanese - and this must have been Shōin - wrote on a piece of board the following:

"When a hero fails in his purpose his acts are then regarded as those of a villain and a robber. In public have we been seized and pinioned and caged for many days. The village elders and headmen treat us disdainfully, their oppressions being grievous indeed. Therefore looking up while yet we have nothing wherewith to reproach ourselves, it must now be seen whether a hero will prove himself to be one indeed. Regarding the liberty of going through the sixty States as not enough for our desire, we wished to make the circuit of the five great continents. This was our hearts' wish for a long time. Suddenly our plans are defeated, and we find ourselves in a half-sized house, where eating, resting, sitting and sleeping are difficult; how can we find our exit from this place? Weeping, we seem as fools; laughing as rogues. Alas! for us; silent we can only be."

Kwa no Uchi Manji (Shōin) Ichigi Kōta (Kaneko)

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2. This paper proved to be a letter in Japanese, of which the following is a literal translation by Mr. Williams, the interpreter of the squadron:

"Two scholars from Yedo, in Japan, present this letter for the inspection of 'the high officers and those who manage affairs'. Our attainments are few and trifling... tomorrow night, after all is quiet, be at Kakizaki in a small boat, near the shore, where there are no houses. There we greatly hope you to meet us and take us away, and thus bring our hopes to fruition. April 25."

3. Hawks, Francis L., Narrative on the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan. Washington D.C., 1856, pp. 488-9.

GLOSSARY

ANSEI	安政	Era name 1854-1860, associated with ANSEI PURGE 1858-9
BAKUFU	幕府	lit. "Tent Government"; Shogunate, usually Tokugawa Shogunate 1603-1868
BAKUHAN	幕藩	Tokugawa Shogunate (<u>Baku</u>) in balanced relationship with daimyo domains (<u>han</u>), hence system of administrative and social controls of Tokugawa period
BAKUMATSU	幕末	Terminal period of Bakufu rule, 1853-1868
CHŌNIN	町人	Townspeople, usually refers to merchants and artisans
DAIMYŌ	大名	Feudal lord, upper ranking samurai with income of 10,000 <u>koku</u> and above Two main types: <u>FUDAI</u> , hereditary vassal of the TOKUGAWA HOUSE and <u>TŌZAMA</u> , enforced vassals of Tokugawa
HAN	藩	DAIMYŌ fief or domain
HANSHŪ	藩主	Domanial Lord
HORI-UCHI	堀内	lit. "within the moat". In this context the precincts of Hagi Castle and outer moat
JŌI	攘夷	"Expel the barbarian", slogan of the loyalist movement in response to the foreign intrusions after 1858

JŌKAMACHI	城下町	lit. "town-below the castle", or the downtown area
JUKU	塾	school, private academy, institution of learning, used interchangeably with <u>SHIJUKU</u>
KA'EI	嘉永	Era name 1848-1854
KAIKOKU	開國	"Open the country" slogan of groups supporting treaties with foreign countries from the mid-1850s
KARŌ	家老	Chief Vassal, Senior Councillor of a domain (han) with personal attachment to <u>Hanshū</u>
KŌBU-GATTAI	公武合體	"Union of Court and Camp", i.e. Bakufu and the Imperial Court
KOKU	石	Measure of capacity, used of rice. Standardised at 4.96 bushels or 180 litres
KOKUGAKU	國學	"National Learning" associated with Shintō
KOKUTAI	國體	National polity or essence, originally national prestige
MEIRINKAN	明倫館	Official han academy of Chōshū. Founded 1719
MITOGAKU also SHIGAKU	水戸學 史學	Historical Studies associated with Mito han and imperial loyalist thought
RANGAKU	蘭學	"Dutch Studies". Study of the West filtered through Deshima, Nagasaki. Frequently used interchangeably with YŌGAKU, lit. (Western Studies)

RŌJŪ	老中	Senior Bakufu official, appointed from fudai daimyō of high status, Tokugawa's inner circle of support
SAKOKU	鎖國	lit. "Closed Country", Policy of National Isolation (1636-1854)
SANKIN-KŌTAI	参勤交代	System of official alternate attendance at Edo required of daimyō by the Bakufu
SHI-NO-KŌ-SHŌ	士農工商	Samurai, farmer, artisan, merchant; the four official classes of Tokugawa society sanctioned by Neo-Confucian orthodoxy
SHISHI	志士	"Person of high purpose", either a scholar-official (Mencius) or a samurai (Bakumatsu)
SONJUKU	村塾	lit. "Village School"
SOTO-BORI	外堀	lit. "Outside the moat". In this context, the downtown area of Hagi immediately outside the castle defence system
SŌMŌ-EIYŪ	草莽英雄	lit. "grass-clump heroes", sometimes construed to mean grass-roots radicals
TAIGI-MEIBUN	大義名分	Loyalty and duty; a conscious acceptance of duty and obligation according to one's status
TAIRŌ	大老	Senior Rōjū: Senior Bakufu official appointed at times of crisis
TEMPŌ	天保	Era name 1830-1844, associated with Tempō Reforms

YAMAGARYŪ 山鹿流

School of Military Studies based
on the teachings of Yamaga Sokō
(1622-1685)

YASHIKI 屋敷

Mansion or residence especially of
a samurai

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IV. ARTICLES

The following abbreviations are used in this section of the Bibliography:

JQ	<u>Japan Quarterly</u>
JAS	<u>Journal of Asian Studies</u> (formerly <u>Far Eastern Quarterly</u>)
MN	<u>Monumenta Nipponica</u>
TASJ	<u>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.</u>

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ADDENDUM

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(Source: Hagi Zushi, pp. 38-39.)

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complex.
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Collection. Compare Plate 32.

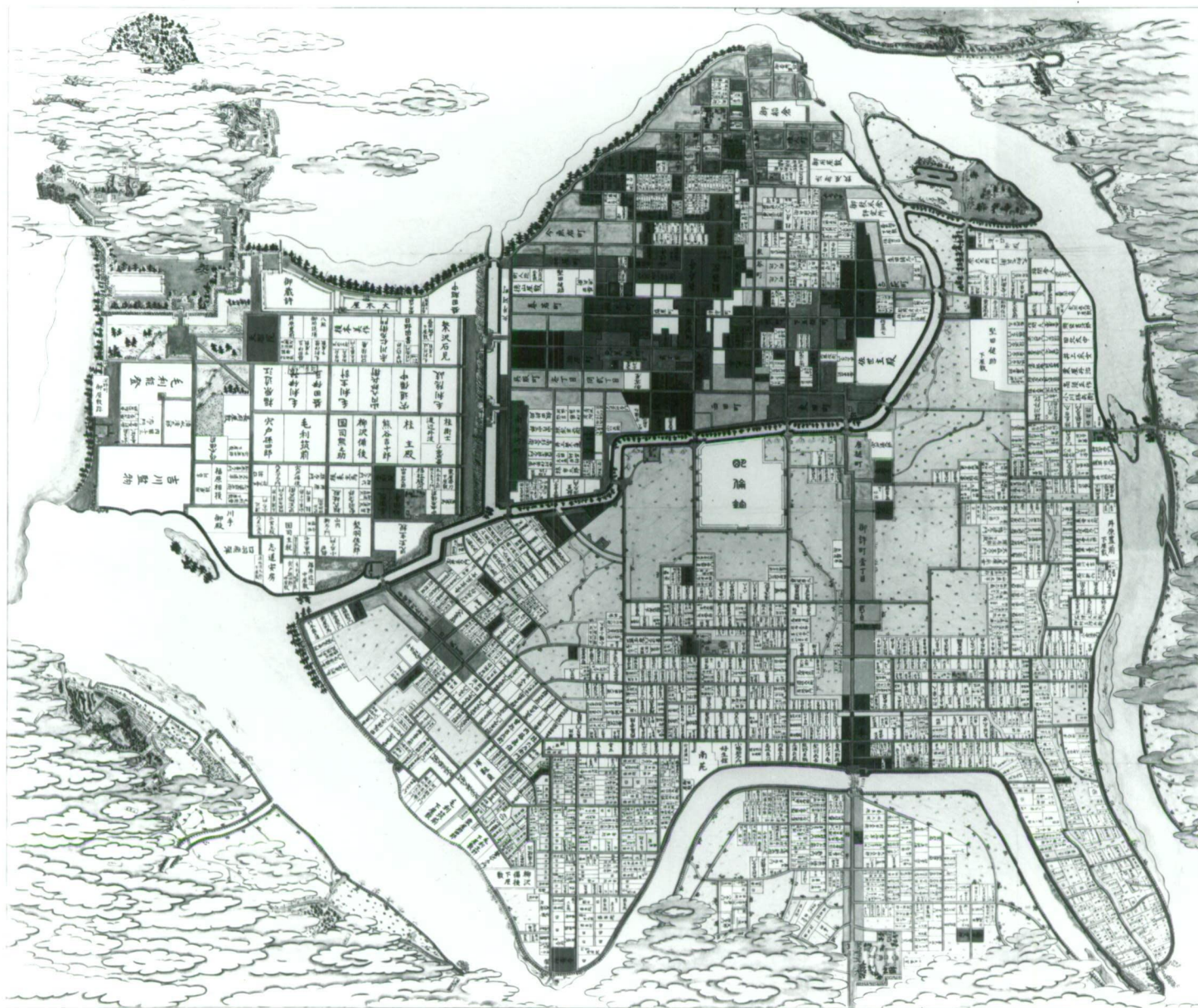
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NOTE ALSO: Line Drawings used for Chapter Titles:

- Introduction : Triple-comma roof-tile motif
used in Hagi
- Chapter One : *Sonnō Jōi*
- Chapter Two : *Natsumikan* of Hagi buke yashiki
- Chapter Three: *Hagi* (bush clover)
- Chapter Four : *Kara Shisi*
- Chapter Five : Hamaguri Mon, Kyoto Gosho

[illegible]

Hagi Castletown, 1652 map (redrawn)
(Hagi-shi Kyōdohakubutsukan)



萩城下町地図

凡 例

彩色

- 白 特異な建物などの詳細図
- 赤 寺社屋敷
- 緑 百生(百軒)宅地・年貢屋
- 黄 往還道
- 色 分 町人屋敷

記号

- 御奉行所
 - ||||| 石 垣
- (注) 本図は写実を主とし、記号は多く用いていない

略語

- 足 一足軒(あしけん)
- 地 方 地方(じかた)
- 蔵 元 御蔵元付(おくらもと)
- 百人 百人御中間
- 新百人 新百人御中間
- 新 中 新御中間
- 十 三 十三組
- 六 尺 六尺民
- 旗 旗屋敷
- 武 具 御武具方(おんぶぐ)
- 織 工 御織工方(おんおり)
- 方 御方方(おんかた)
- 綱 子 御手綱子(おんて)

PLATE 2. Hagi Castletown, 1851-2 map (redrawn). Kumatani Art Museum, Hagi.



PLATE 3b.

SHŌIN'S JOURNEY TO THE WEST
(November 1850-January 1851)

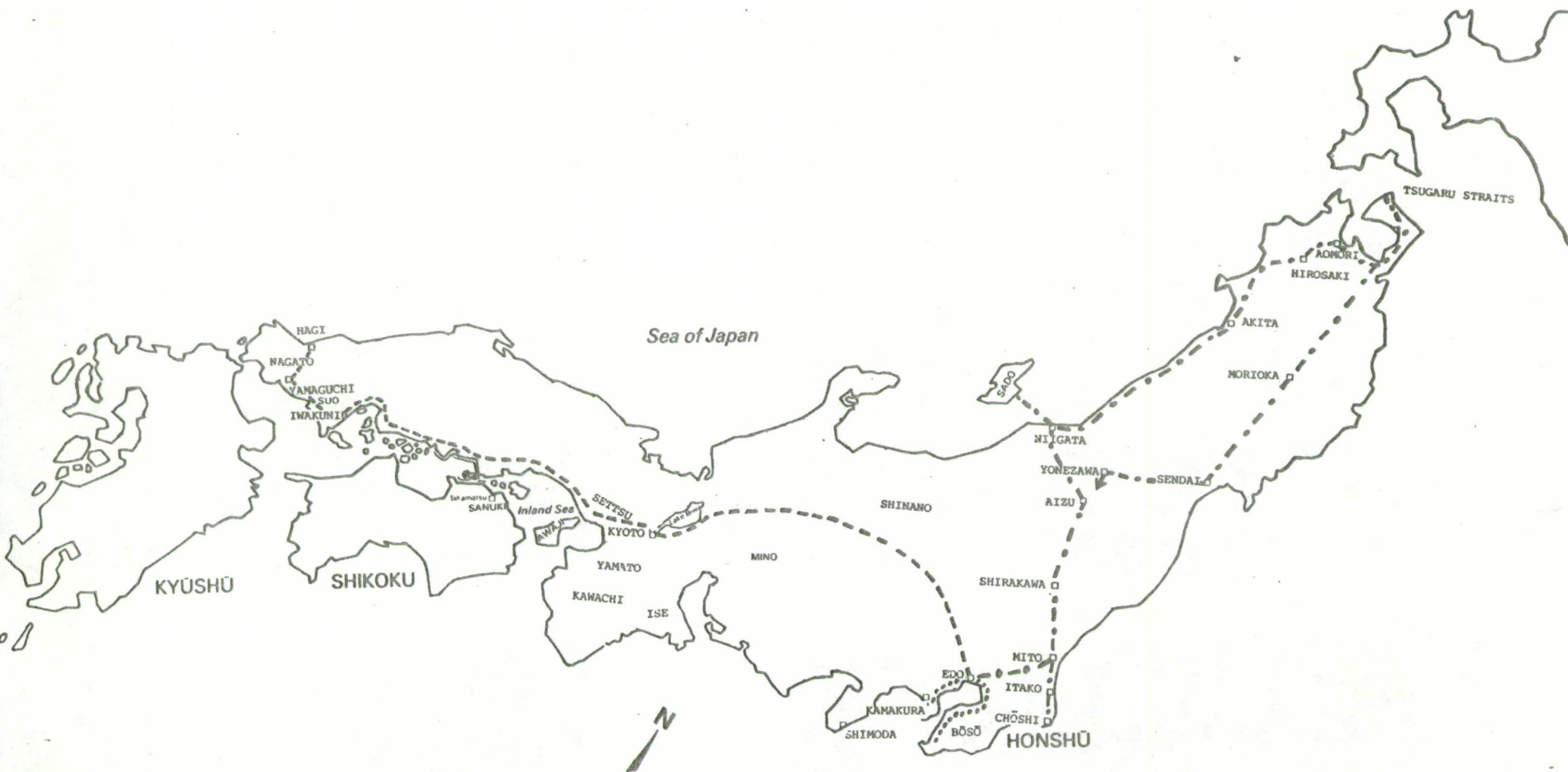


PLATE 3c.

SHŌIN'S JOURNEY TO THE EAST (MAY-JULY 1851)
for *Sankin Kōtai*
(including side trips to Kamakura, Bōsō
and Sagami, May-July, 1851)

JOURNEY TO TŌHOKU (January-May, 1852)

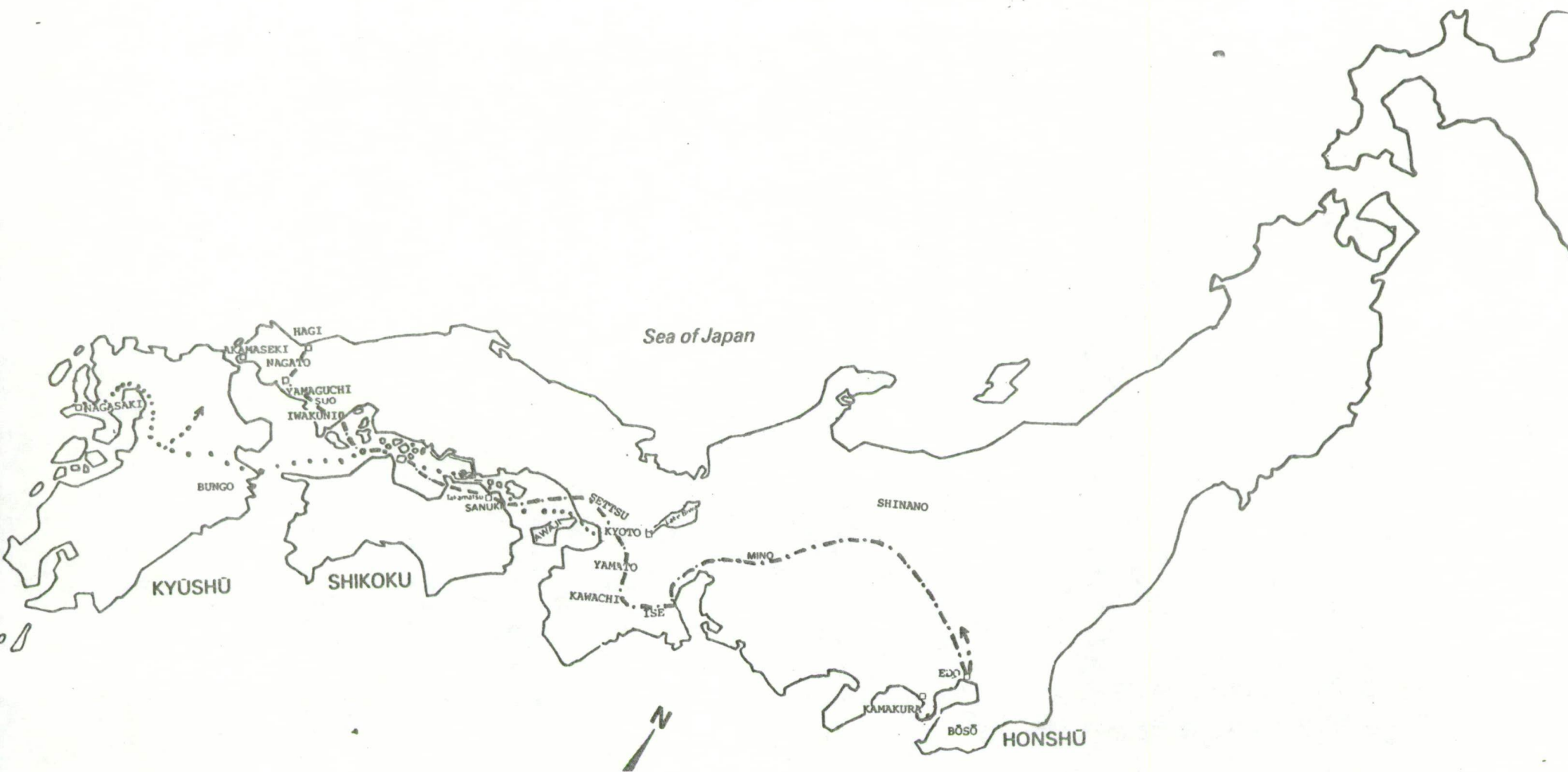


PLATE 3d.

SHŌIN'S JOURNEY TO EDO AND NAGASAKI (March-December, 1853)
 (trip to and from Edo via Nakasendō)
 TO EDO - - - - -
 TO NAGASAKI (boat via Inland Sea)

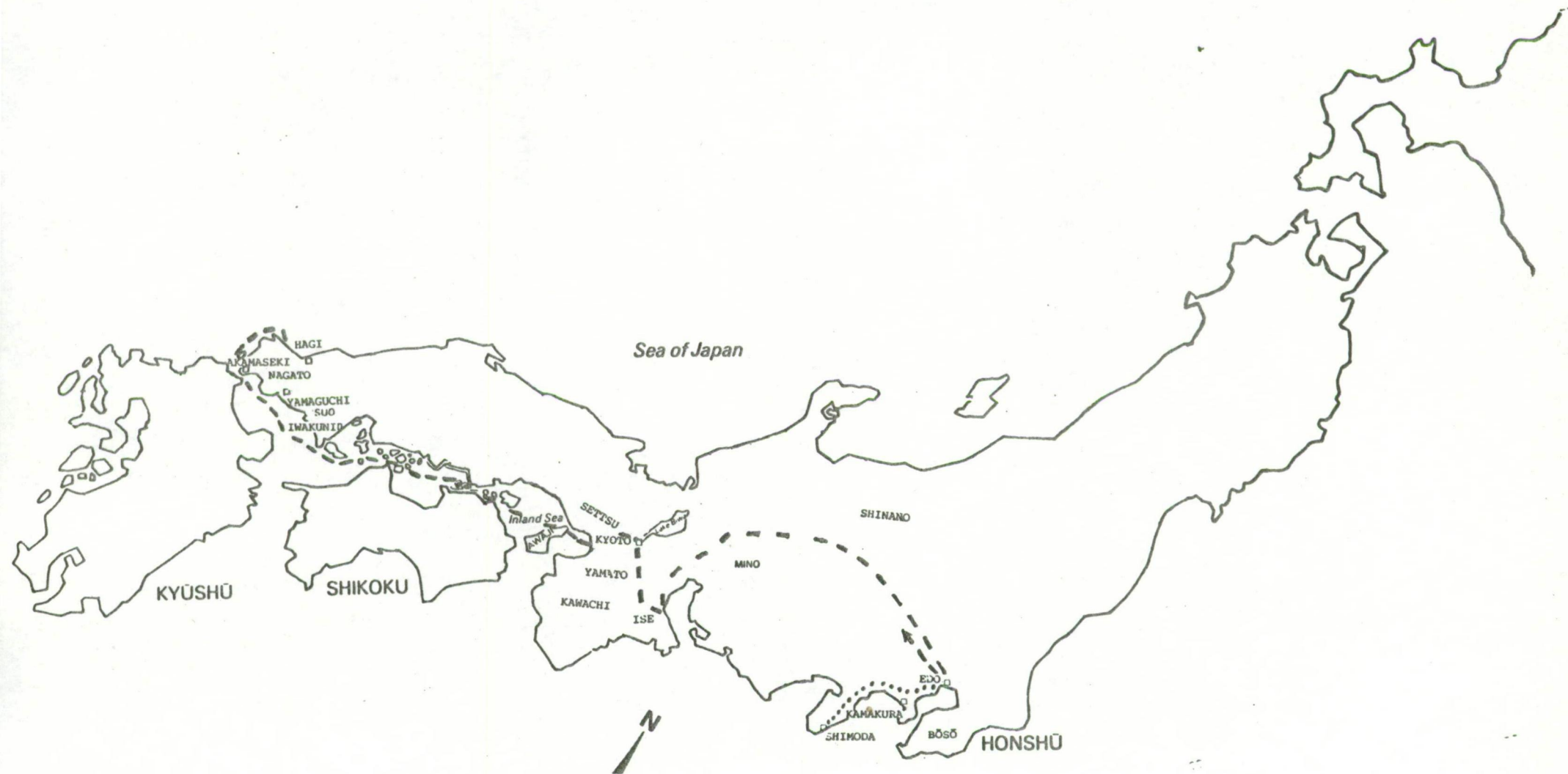


PLATE 3e.

SHŌIN'S JOURNEY TO KYOTO AND EDO
(December 1853-December 1854)

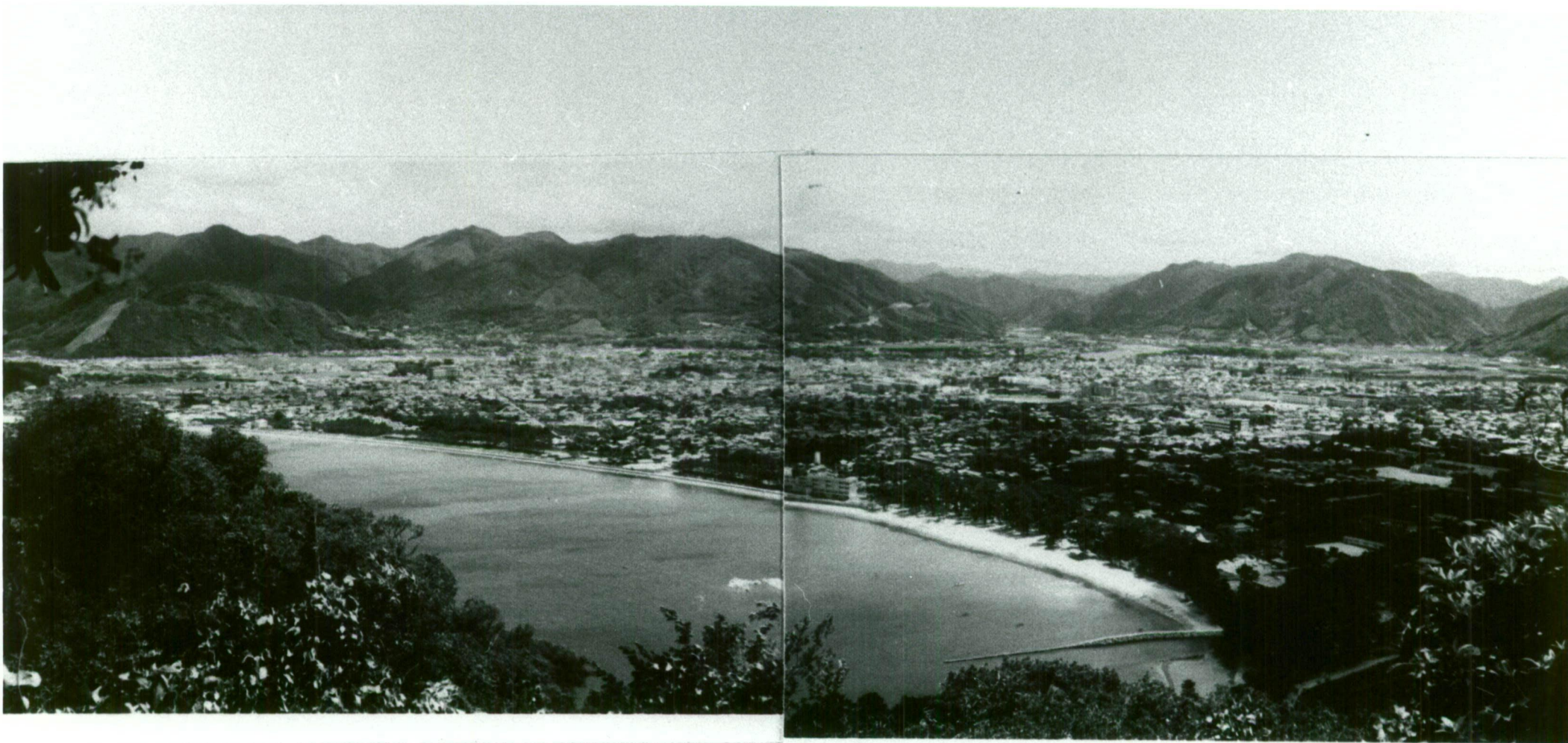


PLATE 4.

Modern Hagi City from Shizuki-yama.

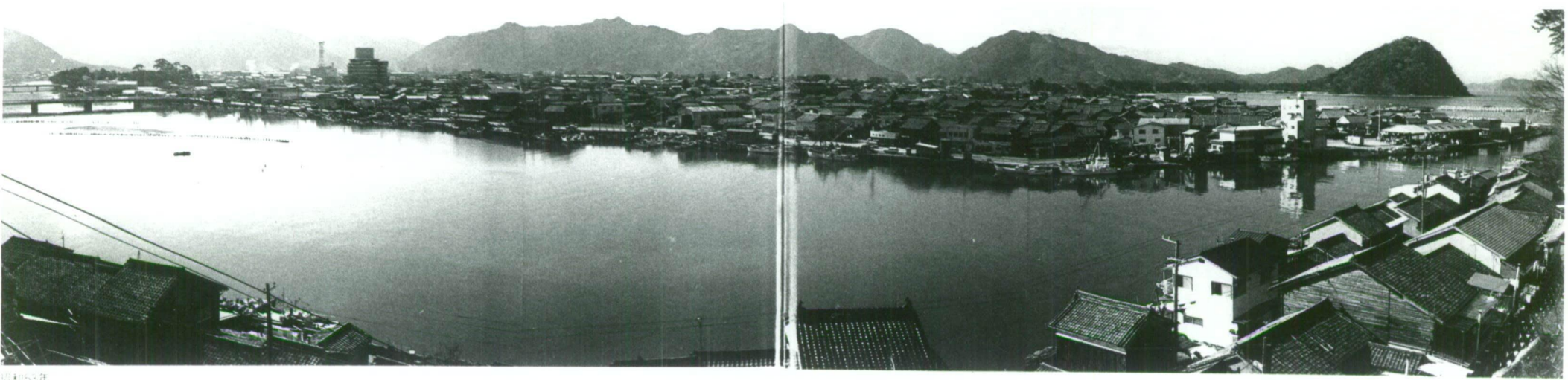


PLATE 5.

Modern Hagi City from Matsumoto
looking towards Shizuki-yama.



鯉江台から浜崎を望む



昭和5年

PLATE 6.

Hagi Meiji and Modern

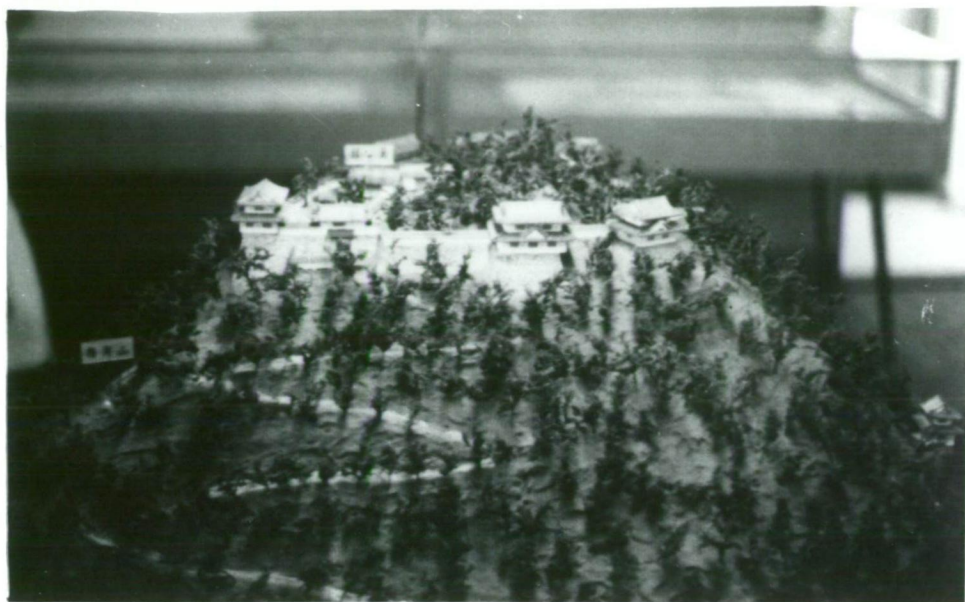


PLATE 7. Hagi-jō. Model of Shizuki-yama fortifications
(Hagi City Municipal Museum)



PLATE 8. Hagi-jō. Shizuki-yama. Extant fortifications ca. 1615



PLATE 9. Hagi-jō. Castle wall quarry on Shizuki-yama

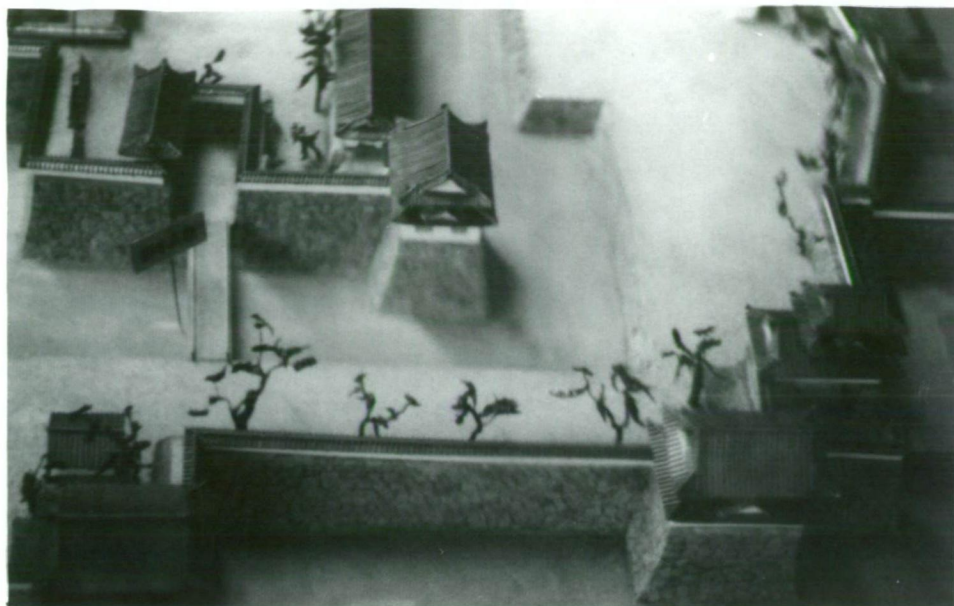


PLATE 10. Hagi-jō. Model of original outer fortifications
(Hagi City Municipal Museum)



PLATE 11. Hagi-jō. Model of *Honmaru* palaces and keep
(Hagi City Municipal Museum)



PLATE 12. Hagi-jō. Extant *ishigaki*



PLATE 13.

Hagi-jō. *Tenshu* (keep) prior to 1872 dismantling



PLATE 14. Hagi Castletown. Masuda *yashiki* in *Sannomaru*.
Gate and *nagaya* complex.



PLATE 15. Hagi Castletown. Masuda *yashiki*
detail of gable and roof tiles
with family crest.



PLATE 16. Hagi Castletown. Kuchihane *yashiki nagayamon*.



PLATE 17. Hagi Castletown. Takasugi Shinsaku *yashiki mon*.



PLATE 18. Hagi Castletown. Mōri minor residence *mon*.



PLATE 19. Hagi Castletown. Sufu *yashiki nagayamon*.



PLATE 20. Hagi Castletown. Site of destroyed *yashiki* with extant wall in vicinity of Shizuki-yama.



PLATE 21. Hagi Castletown. Ruins of *yashiki* wall with *sangawara* (composite tiles) from original building.



PLATE 22. Hagi Castletown. Extant cover tiles from major *yashiki* building.

長州

果太草 明倫館學頭
倉避青

通治平化學者金醫局管醫凌金分析王又製過考房力

木研蔵 岡田の若手志士に從學、禮座を定めて野堂叔論大興區を撰書する。

•

上弥一 三代奇兵隊監督 近衛基綱 （近衛基綱） 但馬守 野矢美季 敗れて自決（四）

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越後縣門の東、奥にありて山を望み、刀及杖之類は正

田親施永代室老 正四 位下
金古 德山想持院 221 正四位下

之國佐兵正

直付用談役 葉門の支店責任者 野山小次郎 正四座

56x 正四位

和國之助 奥登頭 出納役 世子の御寄足

遊學隊と平て高めに投力（藤河頭良孝）

平有明奇兵隊監督として幕命先一着置

内江戦に活躍（小部隊隊長等）

陳兵已告行所
已發令
賜與牛
前
已發令



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Hagi City Historical Archives. Summary of Archives' documents on persons related to Yoshida Shōin.



PLATE 24.

Matsumoto Village, Hagi. Site marking
house of Yoshida Shōin's childhood.



PLATE 25.

Matsumoto Village, Hagi. Tamaki Bunnoshin
yashiki mon.



PLATE 26. Matsumoto Village, Hagi.
Shōka Sonjuku.



PLATE 27. Matsumoto Village, Hagi. Shōka Sonjuku.
Side entrance to main classroom.

野山獄跡
向かいあつて岩倉獄があつた。(秋市)



PLATE 28.

Hagi Castletown. Site of Noyama Prison.



PLATE 29. Yoshida Shōin at Shōka Sonjuku
(wax model at Shōin Jinja, Hagi).

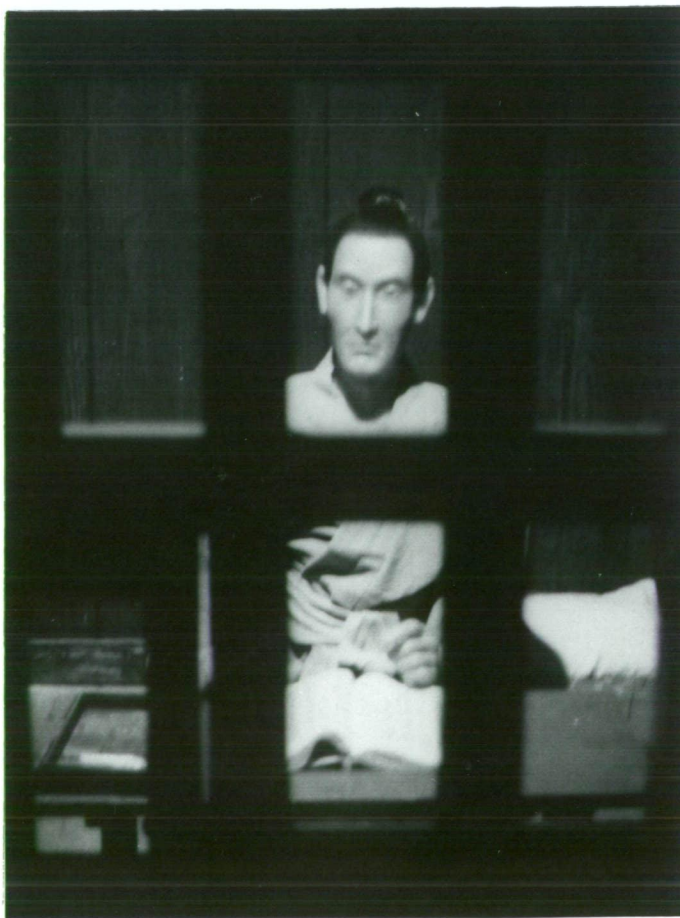


PLATE 30. Yoshida Shōin in Noyama Prison
(wax model at Shōin Jinja, Hagi).

士規七則

披瀝得子意言如林躍
人顧人不讀仰讀不行苟
諸而行之則雖千萬世不可
得其味復何難哉無語知
矣不能不言人之至情也古
人言謝公今我言謝公余
傷焉作士規七則

一 仁生為人宜智所以異於禽
獸五人有其倫而君臣父子為
最大故人之所以為人忠孝為
本

一 仁生 以國宜知君侯以得
其字曰五 皇朝萬景一統
邦國士夫世襲祿位人君若
以續祖業臣民忠君以繼
父志君臣一體忠孝一致唯
吾國為然

一 士道莫大於義我國勇行勇
國義長

一 士行以質實不欺為要以偽
詐之過為恥光明正大皆山
是出

一 人不通古今不能觀賢則
鄙夫而已讀書尚友君子之
事也

一 成德建材師恩尤重若多
而故君子慎交游

一 死而後已四字言簡而義
該堅忍果決確乎不可拔
者舍是無術也

右士規七則約為三端
立志以為萬事之階
文以輔仁義之行讀書
以觀聖賢之訓士為者
得於此亦可以為成人矣

二十日梅生

PLATE 31.

Yoshida Shōin's "Seven Principles" written in his own hand. Reversal facsimile from archives of Shōin Jinja, Hagi.

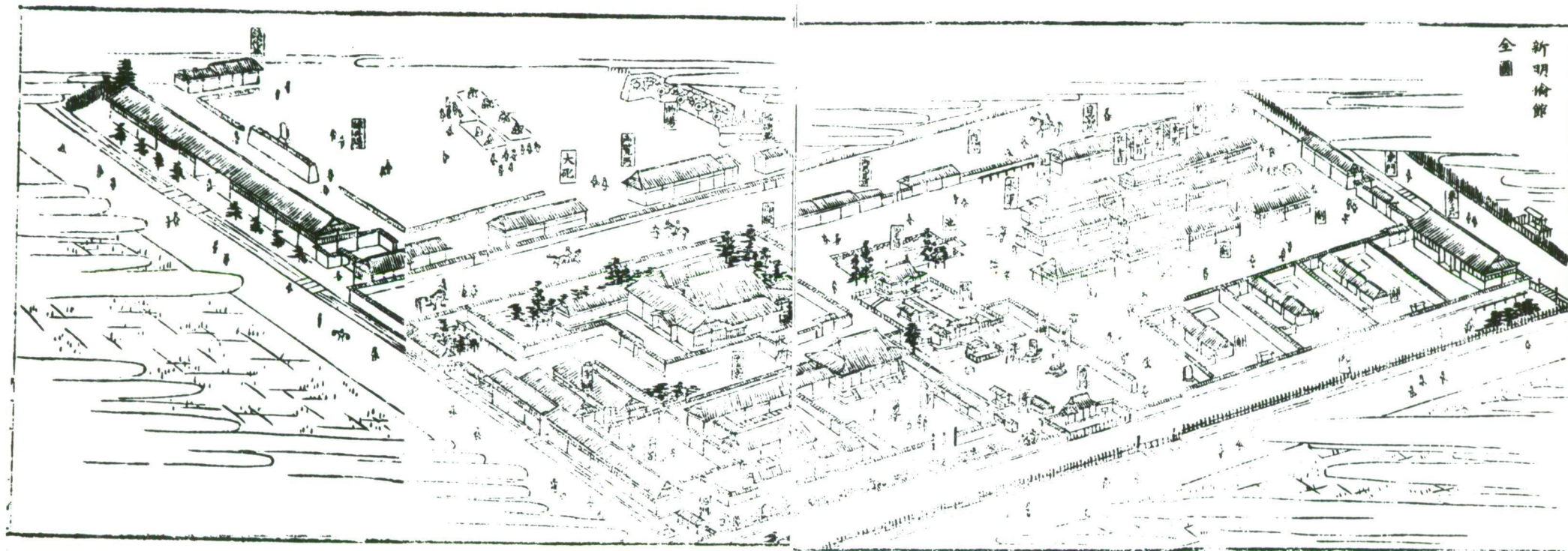


PLATE 32. Shin Meirinkan. Complete View. Line Drawing (1849).



PLATE 33. Hagi Castletown. Shin Meirinkan Yūbikan.



PLATE 34. Hagi Castletown. Shin Meirinkan site.



PLATE 35. Hagi Castletown. Site of original Meirinkan.



PLATE 36.

Shimoda, 1872 photograph
(Widener Library, Harvard University).



PLATE 37.

Shimoda Harbour. Meiji Centennial Year, 1968.
Looking towards Perry anchorage.

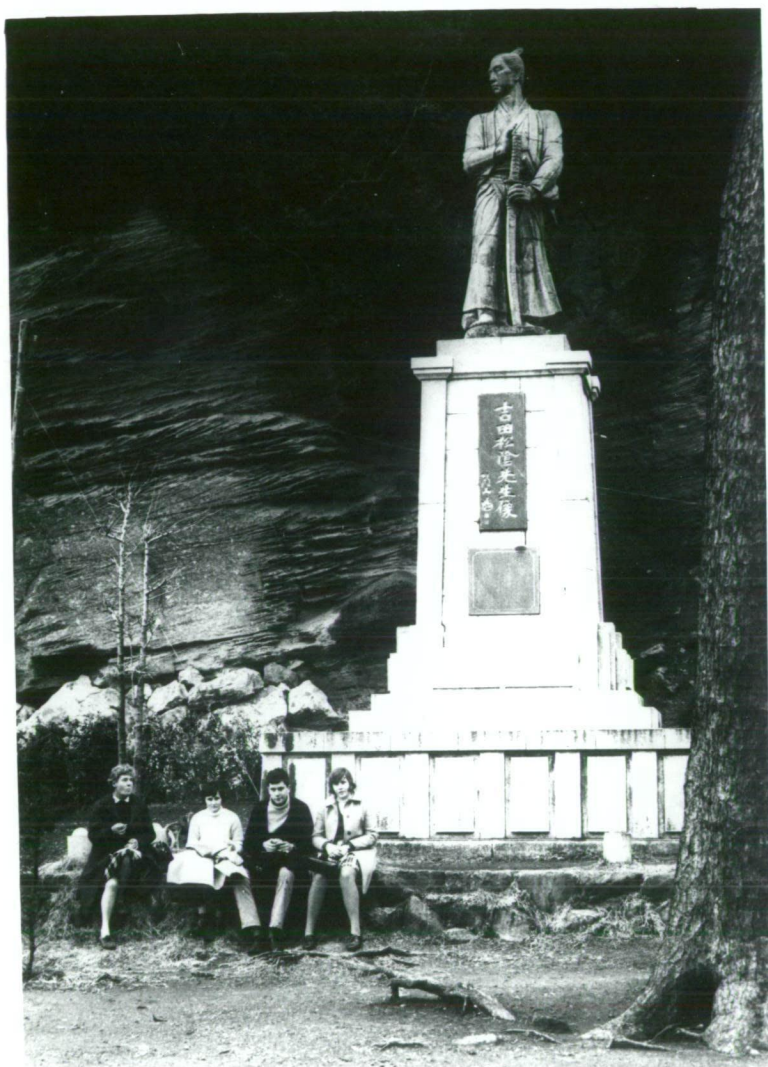


PLATE 38. Shimoda. Statue commemorating Yoshida Shōin.

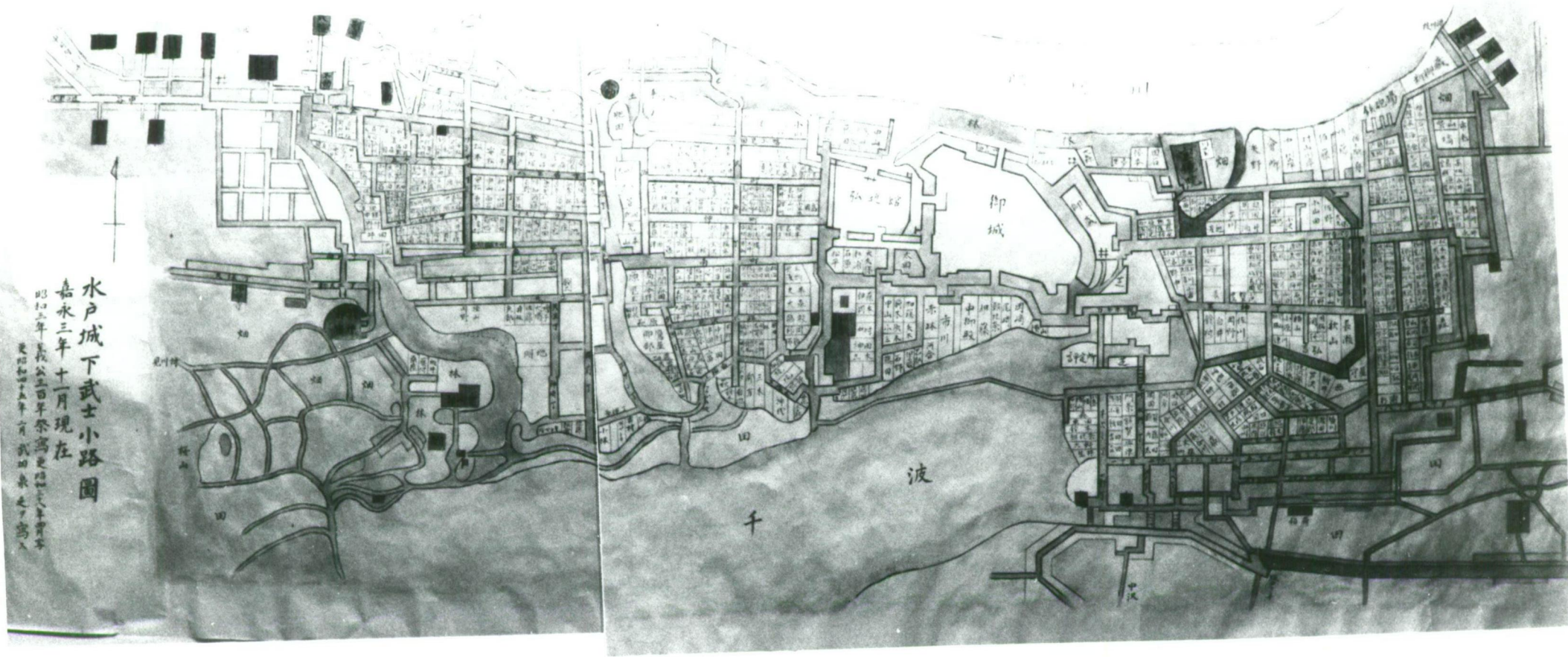


PLATE 39.

Mito. Map of Castletown in 1850 (redrawn).
 (Kōdōkan Historical Collection)

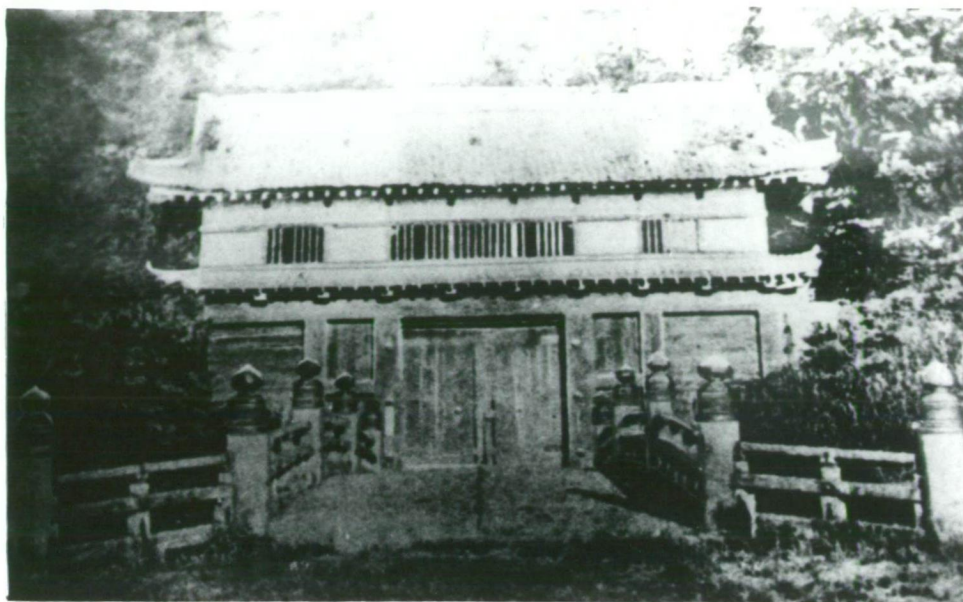


PLATE 40. Mito. Castle *Ōtemon* (destroyed).



PLATE 41. Mito. Site of destroyed Castle *Ōtemon*.



PLATE 42. Mito - View from Castle *Honmaru* towards
Kōdōkan complex (Mito Han Academy)



PLATE 43. Mito Han Academy (Kōdōkan). Main Entrance.



PLATE 44. Mito Han Academy (Kōdōkan). Main building.



PLATE 45. Mito Han Academy (Kōdōkan). Main chamber.



PLATE 46. Mito. Kairaku-en. Daimyō garden
and *mon*.

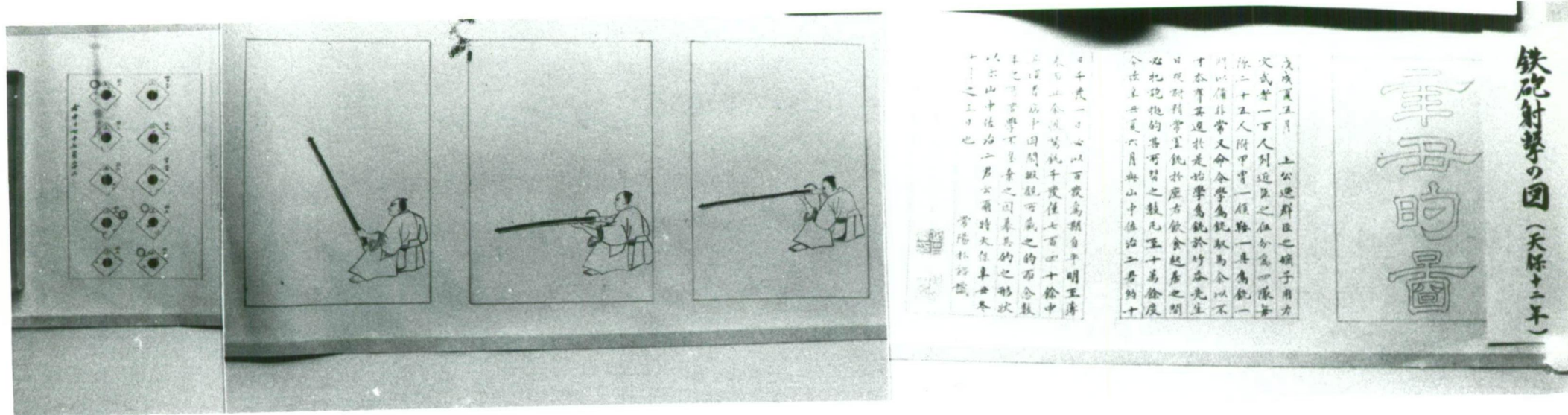


PLATE 47.

Mito Han Academy (Kōdōkan). Instruction manual for western-style gunnery (Kōdōkan Historical Collection).



PLATE 48. Torii Gate at entrance to Shōin Jinja,
Setagaya-ku, Tokyo.



PLATE 49. Memorial to Ii Naosuke, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo.



PLATE 50. Kozukabara Execution Ground, Senjū, Tokyo.



PLATE 51. Yoshida Shōin Haka (centre). Shōin Jinja, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo.



PLATE 52. Yoshida Shōin Haka, Ekō-in, Senjū, Tokyo, where remains were interred immediately after execution.



PLATE 53. Kyoto. Higashiyama. Cemetery of
Chōshū samurai who died as a result
of *Kinmon no Ran* (1864).



PLATE 54. Kyoto. Gosho precincts. Hamaguri Mon (rear view).
Site of *Kinmon no Ran* (1864).



PLATE 55. Kyoto. Gosho precincts. Hamaguri Mon (front view).

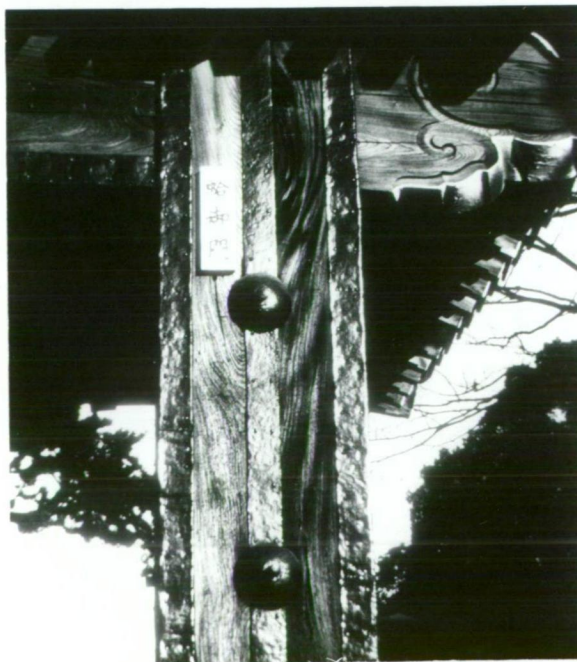


PLATE 56. Kyoto. Gosho precincts. Hamaguri Mon (detail).